



**U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Energy and Commerce
Minority Staff**

Rep. Henry A. Waxman's Record of Accomplishment

December 2014

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
II. REP. WAXMAN'S LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS	5
A. Major Health Laws	7
1. The Affordable Care Act	7
2. Medicaid and CHIP Expansions	8
3. Nursing Home Reforms of 1987, 1988, and 2010	9
4. The Waxman-Hatch Generic Drug Act	9
5. The Orphan Drug Act	10
6. The Ryan White CARE Act and Other HIV/AIDS Initiatives	10
7. Women's Health Initiatives	11
8. The National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act	11
9. Drug and Device User Fee Laws	12
B. Major Consumer Protection Laws	12
1. The Nutrition Labeling Act.....	12
2. The Food Quality Protection Act.....	13
3. The Food Safety Modernization Act.....	13
4. Cigarette and Smokeless Tobacco Health Warning Laws	13
5. The Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act.....	14
6. The Safe Medical Devices Act	14
7. The Drug Quality and Security Act	14
C. Major Environmental Laws	15
1. The Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990	15
2. Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1980, 1986, and 1996	16
3. Laws Reducing Childhood Lead Exposure.....	16
4. Formaldehyde Standards for Composite Wood Products Act of 2010.....	17
5. Laws Reducing Greenhouse Gas Emissions.....	17
D. Major Telecommunications Laws.....	18
1. Spectrum Reform.....	18
2. The 21 st Century Communications and Video Accessibility Act	18
E. Major Good Government Laws	19
1. Procurement Reforms	19
2. The Postal Accountability and Enhancement Act	20
III. REP. WAXMAN'S OVERSIGHT ACCOMPLISHMENTS.....	20
A. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into Waste, Fraud, and Abuse	24
B. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into Misleading Iraq Intelligence	25
C. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into the Tobacco Industry	25
D. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into Steroids in Baseball	26
E. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into the Politicization of Science.....	26
F. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into the Wall Street Collapse	27
G. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into the Gulf Oil Spill	28
V. OTHER ACCOMPLISHMENTS	28
IV. CONCLUSION	29

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Rep. Henry A. Waxman has a long record of legislative and oversight accomplishment. For forty years, he has played a leading role in the enactment of major health, consumer protection, environmental, telecommunications, and good government laws. He has also been one of the masters of congressional oversight.

Rep. Waxman's legislative skill has been widely recognized. He has been called "liberalism's legislative genius,"¹ "one of the ablest members of the House,"² and "one of the most accomplished legislators of our time."³ As one profile reported, "His legislative campaigns unfold over spans of time beyond the patience of most lawmakers and sometimes defy political gravity."⁴ Thomas Scully, the Administrator for the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services under President George W. Bush, once said, "Fifty percent of the social safety net was created by Henry Waxman when no one was looking."⁵ Republican Senator Alan Simpson called him "tougher than a boiled owl" for his persistence in passing the landmark Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990.⁶

His oversight abilities have drawn similar comments. He has been called "the Democrats' Eliot Ness,"⁷ "the Scariest Guy in Town,"⁸ "the most feared Democrat on Capitol Hill,"⁹ and "the Bush Administration's worst nightmare."¹⁰ Commenting on his tenure as Chairman of the House Oversight Committee, Thomas Mann, a congressional expert at the Brookings Institution, said, "Waxman has been a spectacular success. ... On all important counts – the range, volume and quality of his oversight initiatives – he almost single-handedly revived the critical role of Congress in overseeing the executive."¹¹ When *Time Magazine* listed the "top 10 corporate grillings" in the history of Congress, four of them were hearings that Rep. Waxman chaired.¹²

This report summarizes the legislative and oversight record of Rep. Waxman. It is a record of breadth, depth, and accomplishment.

Legislatively, Rep. Waxman has left his mark in five areas: health policy, consumer protection, environmental protection, telecommunications policy, and good government laws. Some of the major health legislation that Rep. Waxman has written or played a leading role in enacting includes:

The Affordable Care Act, which gives all Americans access to affordable health insurance, strengthens Medicare and Medicaid, and reduces the deficit.

Medicaid and CHIP Expansions, which extended the coverage and benefits available to millions of needy and working families.

Nursing Home Reforms, which stopped the industry's worst abuses and protected the rights of vulnerable residents.

The Waxman-Hatch Generic Drug Act, which gave rise to the generic drug industry, saving consumers over \$1 trillion in the last decade alone.

The Orphan Drug Act, which gave drug companies incentives to develop treatments for rare diseases they had previously ignored.

The Ryan White CARE Act, which provided medical care and other services to Americans living with HIV/AIDS.

Women's Health Initiatives, including the laws establishing standards for mammography, requiring the inclusion of women in clinical trials, and creating the Office of Research on Women's Health at NIH.

The National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act, which strengthened FDA oversight of vaccine manufacturers and created a no-fault compensation system for vaccine-related injuries.

FDA User Fee Laws, which raised hundreds of millions of dollars each year from drug and device manufacturers to fund vital FDA functions.

Some of the major consumer protection laws that Rep. Waxman has written or played a leading role in enacting include:

The Nutrition Labeling Act, which mandated the ubiquitous and popular nutrition labels that consumers rely upon to compare packaged foods.

The Food Quality Protection Act, which established a strong health-based standard for pesticide residues in food.

The Food Safety Modernization Act, which set science-based standards for the safe production and harvesting of raw agricultural commodities and requires new preventative controls for companies that process or package foods.

Cigarette and Smokeless Tobacco Health Warning Laws, which required rotating Surgeon General warnings on cigarette packages and advertisements and the first health warnings on smokeless tobacco packages and advertisements.

The Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act, which restricted the marketing of cigarettes and smokeless tobacco to children and gave FDA jurisdiction over tobacco products.

The Safe Medical Devices Act, which enhanced public protection from dangerous medical devices by requiring mandatory reporting of adverse events and surveillance and tracking of implantable devices.

The Drug Quality and Security Act, which strengthened FDA's authority over compounded drugs and created a uniform system for tracking drugs to prevent counterfeits.

Some of the major environmental laws that Rep. Waxman has written or played a leading role in enacting include:

The 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments, which established new programs to reduce urban smog, hazardous air pollution, and acid rain and prevent the depletion of the stratospheric ozone layer.

Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments, which strengthened the standards for drinking water and established funding mechanisms for drinking water infrastructure improvements.

Laws Reducing Childhood Lead Exposure, including laws removing lead from plumbing supplies, water coolers, and children's toys, requiring disclosure of lead hazards during real estate transactions, and setting standards for safe renovations.

The Formaldehyde Standards Act, which set minimum standards for formaldehyde levels from plywood, fiberboard, and particleboard.

Laws Reducing Greenhouse Gas Emissions, including provisions requiring greater efficiency in federal buildings and procurement of clean vehicles.

Some of the major telecommunications laws that Rep. Waxman has written or played a leading role in enacting include:

Spectrum Reforms, which will ease the nation's growing spectrum shortage, enable new "super WiFi" applications, and create a nationwide broadband network for first responders.

The 21st Century Video and Communications Accessibility Act, which increased the access of persons with disabilities to smartphones and other modern communications devices.

Some of the major good government laws that Rep. Waxman has written or played a leading role in enacting include:

Procurement Reforms, which enhanced competition, transparency, and accountability in government contracting to reduce waste, fraud, and abuse.

The Postal Accountability and Enhancement Act, the first major overhaul of the U.S. Postal Service since 1970.

Rep. Waxman's oversight record matches his legislative one. Some of his major investigations have probed:

Waste, Fraud, and Abuse, identifying over \$1 trillion in wasteful and mismanaged federal contracts, including billions of dollars of wasteful spending in Iraq and the response to Hurricane Katrina.

Misleading Intelligence, exposing over 200 misleading statements by senior Administration officials about the threat posed by Iraq.

The Tobacco Industry, revealing decades of industry concealment of the dangers of smoking and the addictiveness of nicotine.

Steroids in Baseball, uncovering the extent of players' illegal drug use during baseball's "steroids era" and prompting major reforms in steroid policies in baseball and other sports.

Politicization of Science, disclosing dozens of instances in which Bush Administration officials distorted or misrepresented science, such as funding misleading abstinence-only education programs or censuring climate experts.

The Wall Street Collapse, examining the fall of Lehman Brothers and AIG, the failure of the credit rating agencies, and the negligence and mistakes of market regulators.

The Gulf Oil Spill, disclosing a series of overlooked warnings and risky decisions made by BP to reduce costs and save time.

And these are only the highlights of Rep. Waxman's long career. As one commentator observed, "Waxman's deepest impact may not be the landmark laws he's famous for, but the collective effect of the dozens, and possibly hundreds, of smaller victories amassed throughout his career."¹³ One pediatrician wrote that during his four-year tenure on Rep. Waxman's staff, he worked with the Congressman to reverse a Taekwondo policy that endangered young children, enact a law taking unsafe colored contact lenses off the market, stop the sale of nicotine lollipops, and persuade food manufacturers to correct misleading claims about rice-based milk products.¹⁴ These types of actions never made headlines, but they made a difference and were a hallmark of Rep. Waxman's career.

When Rep. Waxman announced his retirement in January 2014, there was an outpouring of tributes. President Obama called Rep. Waxman "an extraordinary public servant and one of the most accomplished legislators of his or any era."¹⁵ Harold Meyerson wrote in the *Washington Post* that Rep. Waxman was "the primary force behind bills that made our air cleaner, made drinking water safer, put nutritional labeling on food, provided medical coverage to people with AIDS ... gave rise to generic drugs, increased safety standards for food and enabled millions of poor children to have annual checkups."¹⁶ Ronald Brownstein asserted in *National Journal*, "No other legislator ... affected the daily lives of more Americans than Waxman", while David Corn described him in *Mother Jones* as "the ideal House member, skilled in politics and passionate about policy, able to legislate and investigate, and driven by principles rather than ego."¹⁷

In 2009, Rep. Waxman wrote a book about his career entitled *The Waxman Report: How Congress Really Works*. The *Los Angeles Times* book review commented: “when the history of postwar America is definitively written, it’s possible the record will show that the three California politicians who had the biggest impact on the largest number of American lives were Earl Warren, as chief justice; Ronald Reagan, as president; and Henry Waxman as representative of the 30th District in the U.S. House of Representatives.”¹⁸

II. REP. WAXMAN’S LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Many profiles have been published about Rep. Waxman and his long legislative record. In one article, a reporter wrote, “Henry Waxman, a short, bald, reserved, Jewish liberal from Los Angeles, [has] managed to rack up more legislative and political victories than any member of Congress in recent memory.”¹⁹ The *Los Angeles Times* called him “liberalism’s legislative genius”;²⁰ the *Almanac of American Politics* said he is “one of the ablest members of the House” and “a shrewd political operator who is a skilled and idealistic policy entrepreneur”;²¹ *Congressional Quarterly* described him as “one of Congress’ most adroit political practitioners”;²² and *Politico* reported he is “one of the most skillful deal makers and vote counters on Capitol Hill.”²³ According to James Thurber, director of the Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies at American University, “He has had a unique record. He’s racked up so many successes.”²⁴

Washington Post columnist Harold Meyerson described Rep. Waxman as “probably the House’s most accomplished legislator [on] … universal health care, global warming and enhanced consumer protections.”²⁵ Harold Varmus, the Nobel prize-winning head of the National Cancer Institute, has commented that he is “one of the most accomplished legislators of our time” with “remarkable legislative records in domains in which science is important, including health care and regulatory policy.”²⁶ Joan Claybrook, the long-time consumer advocate and former head of Public Citizen, has said, “In all our battles against entrenched corporate interests, the strongest and most effective champion for consumers we have ever worked with is Congressman Henry Waxman.”²⁷ The Sierra Club’s magazine has called Rep. Waxman “Mr. Clean” for his efforts to reduce air pollution.²⁸

In his review of Rep. Waxman’s work, Robert Kaiser of the *Washington Post* wrote, “Henry Waxman is to Congress what Ted Williams was to baseball – a natural.”²⁹ Ralph Nader once said, “Henry Waxman is the only argument against term limits.”³⁰

A common theme in profiles of Rep. Waxman is his determination and patience. The *National Journal* has reported, “Much of Waxman’s success has come from combining long-range vision with persistence and a willingness to progress one small step at a time.”³¹ The *Los Angeles Times* used an example from Rep. Waxman’s decade-long battle to strengthen the Clean Air Act to make a similar point:

Waxman’s tenacity is legendary. He held up the Clean Air Act for nearly a decade until its provisions on emission controls and acid rain were strengthened. At one point in the early ‘80s, he blocked a key vote on a weakened version by offering 600 amendments,³² which he had wheeled into the committee room in shopping carts.

His colleagues on both sides of the aisle have made similar observations, though in more colorful language. Former Republican Senator Alan Simpson once said, “Henry Waxman is tougher than a boiled owl.”³³ Rep. Waxman’s friend and long-time colleague, Democratic Rep. George Miller, remarked, “I thought Henry’s first name was ‘sonofabitch.’ Everybody … kept saying, ‘Do you know what that sonofabitch Waxman wants?’”³⁴

Rep. Waxman was Chairman of the Health and Environment Subcommittee of the Energy and Commerce Committee from 1979 through 1994. His role during this period in the expansion of Medicaid in the 1980s and early 1990s is one example of his legislative success. According to the *Washington Monthly*:

His legislative campaigns unfold over spans of time beyond the patience of most lawmakers, and sometimes defy political gravity – in the 1980s, when anything smacking of Great Society liberalism was on the chopping block, Waxman managed to expand the Medicaid program twenty-four times.³⁵

Similarly, *CQ Weekly* wrote: “Inch by inch, budget by excruciating budget, the California Democrat in the 1980s and early 1990s almost singlehandedly expanded Medicaid, the federal health care program for the poor, into the sweeping benefit program it is today.”³⁶

Before Rep. Waxman started his expansion of Medicaid coverage, the program provided health coverage to poor single mothers and children on welfare, along with low-income elderly and disabled people. Rep. Waxman expanded Medicaid in a series of steps to cover children in families of the working poor, first-time pregnant women in low-income households, and families transitioning from welfare to work. He also added important new benefits, such as community-based long-term care for seniors and persons with disabilities wishing to remain at home.

The conservative Republican activist Grover Norquist once wrote an op-ed lamenting how Rep. Waxman succeeded in expanding Medicaid coverage:

Using what have become known as “Waxman Amendments,” he expands small, inconsequential programs until they consume a much larger share of the federal budget than ever was contemplated at their creation. From 1984 to 1990, Mr. Waxman pushed for 24 new Medicaid initiatives that cost taxpayers \$888 million in their first year of implementation. Five years later, these same initiatives cost taxpayers \$5.4 billion. Government spending on Medicaid approaches \$90 billion every year, due in large part to the efforts of Henry Waxman.³⁷

Thomas Scully, the Administrator for the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services under President George W. Bush, made the point this way: “Fifty percent of the social safety net was created by Henry Waxman when no one was looking.”³⁸

A cornerstone of Rep. Waxman’s legislative approach has been to find Republican partners in his legislative endeavors. Rep. Waxman worked with Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) to pass landmark generic drug legislation; former Republican Surgeon General C. Everett Koop and

Rep. Norm Lent (R-NY) to pass HIV/AIDS legislation; Rep. Ed Madigan (R-IL), the Secretary of Agriculture under President George H.W. Bush, to pass nutrition labeling legislation; President George H.W. Bush, Senator John Chafee (R-RI), and Reps. Jerry Lewis (R-CA) and Sherry Boehlert (R-NY) to pass the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments; Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman Tom Bliley (R-VA) to pass food safety and safe drinking water legislation; and Government Reform Committee Chairman and Ranking Member Tom Davis (R-VA) to pass procurement and postal reforms.

Former Republican Rep. Tom Tauke (R-IA) said, “he has been able to forge bipartisan agreements a remarkable number of times.”³⁹ Former Republican Energy and Commerce Chairman Bliley commented, “He’s willing to listen – not always to agree but willing to listen. Other people say, ‘Look, I got the vote, and I don’t need to fool with you.’ That’s not Henry’s style.”⁴⁰ Former Republican Government Reform Committee Chairman and Ranking Member Davis stated, “I have a very high regard for his intellect and energy. Our discussions are rational and honorable.”⁴¹

One of the shortest and best summaries of Rep. Waxman’s legislative record was provided by Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL), the former Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who was a staunch opponent of abortion but worked with Rep. Waxman to expand prenatal care under Medicaid: “He’s effective as hell.”⁴²

A. Major Health Laws

1. The Affordable Care Act

On March 23, 2010, President Obama signed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act into law.⁴³ This historic legislation, which Rep. Waxman steered through the Energy and Commerce Committee after an arduous markup and championed in the House, guarantees access to affordable health care, protects consumers from insurance industry abuses, strengthens Medicare and Medicaid, and reduces the deficit. When fully implemented, the Affordable Care Act will extend coverage to over 30 million Americans.

The law has already had a major impact. Federal and state-based health insurance exchanges established under the law have created a competitive and affordable health insurance market in which no one can be denied coverage or charged more because of a pre-existing condition. To ensure affordable premiums, tax credits are being provided to individuals and families making under 400% of the poverty level (\$46,680 for an individual and \$95,400 for a family of four). Approximately seven million Americans received Affordable Care Act coverage in the first year that it was available on state and federal exchanges and millions more received coverage through the law’s Medicaid expansions, reducing the number of people without insurance by over 20%.⁴⁴

Under the Affordable Care Act, insurance companies can no longer rescind, cap, or limit coverage when an individual gets sick. Insurance plans are now required to cover recommended preventive services at no cost. The law also requires insurance companies to spend at least 80

cents of each premium dollar on actual health care or pay the consumer a rebate on the premium. Total savings have already reached \$9 billion.⁴⁵

To strengthen Medicare, the law closes the Medicare prescription drug “donut hole,” saving millions of seniors hundreds of dollars each year. Nationwide, total drug savings for seniors are now nearly \$10 billion.⁴⁶ All Medicare beneficiaries now have access to free preventive services.

Not only will the Affordable Care Act expand coverage, it will also lower health care costs and reduce the country’s deficit. The Congressional Budget Office estimated that the law will reduce the deficit by over \$100 billion over 10 years and over \$1.5 trillion over 20 years.⁴⁷

2. Medicaid and CHIP Expansions

The Medicaid program is the healthcare safety net for our most vulnerable populations, including low-income children, pregnant women, seniors, and individuals with disabilities. Rep. Waxman is the primary champion of Medicaid in the House and has made many notable improvements to Medicaid over his career.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Rep. Waxman wrote a series of laws that expanded Medicaid coverage for low-income children (by requiring Medicaid coverage of children under age 19 in families with incomes up to 100% of the poverty level and up to 133% of the poverty level for children under the age of 6); low-income pregnant women (by requiring coverage of prenatal, maternity, and postpartum care for pregnant women making up to 133% of the poverty level); individuals transitioning to work (by extending their coverage for a year to avoid a deterrent to work); and low-income seniors (by requiring help with Medicare premiums and cost sharing).⁴⁸

During the same period, Rep. Waxman also wrote laws improving the benefits available under Medicaid. He wrote the law that expanded Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnostic, and Treatment (EPSDT) for children, which includes the services necessary to ensure healthy development, such as eyeglasses and dental care.⁴⁹ Rep. Waxman also expanded coverage for seniors and individuals with disabilities, allowing them to receive long term-community support to help them remain at home.⁵⁰

To ensure that there would be health care providers available to provide services to low-income families, Rep. Waxman worked with Senator Robert Dole (R-KS) in 1981 to establish the Disproportionate Share Hospital (DSH) payment program for safety-net hospitals.⁵¹ He then worked with Senator John Chafee (R-RI) in 1989 to resolve a financial crisis facing community health centers by providing them cost-based reimbursement.⁵²

To protect the interests of taxpayers, Rep. Waxman wrote the 1990 law that requires drug manufacturers to provide discounts to Medicaid.⁵³ This program saves taxpayers over \$10 billion every year in prescription drug costs. And he wrote the 1992 “340B” law that provides safety net hospitals and community health centers with discounts on prescription drugs, so they can use the savings to provide better care to low-income families.⁵⁴

Rep. Waxman continued to expand coverage by helping to enact the Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP) in 1997.⁵⁵ CHIP today provides health coverage for more than 8 million children in working families with incomes too high to qualify for Medicaid coverage; together, Medicaid and CHIP now cover one in three children in the United States.⁵⁶ Rep. Waxman was the leader in the effort to expand CHIP coverage in 2009 to include legal immigrant pregnant women and children.⁵⁷

In 2010 as part of the Affordable Care Act, Rep. Waxman succeeded in extending Medicaid coverage to everyone below 138% of the poverty level.⁵⁸ A 2012 Supreme Court ruling gave states the option of turning down this extended coverage even though it is paid for 100% through federal contributions for the first three years and at least 90% thereafter. As of January 2014, more than half the states have elected to extend Medicaid coverage.⁵⁹

These efforts by Rep. Waxman have had an enormous positive impact. As the Executive Director of the Center for Children and Families wrote, “Thanks to his successful efforts to improve Medicaid and CHIP, the uninsured rate for children declined from 13.9% in 1984 to 6.6% in 2012.”⁶⁰

3. Nursing Home Reforms of 1987, 1988, and 2010

Rep. Waxman has led the effort in the House of Representatives to improve quality in nursing homes and stop spousal impoverishment. He has also conducted dozens of investigations of nursing home quality.

In the 1980s, the Institute of Medicine chronicled substandard nursing home care and documented widespread abuse and neglect of frail and elderly nursing home residents. As a result of Rep. Waxman’s leadership, Congress passed the Nursing Home Reform Act in 1987, which established quality of care standards to protect nursing home residents.⁶¹ The law also created a resident’s “Bill of Rights” that gives basic rights to nursing home residents, such as the right to be free from mistreatment and physical restraints.

A year later, Rep. Waxman was the lead advocate in the House for financial protections for spouses of nursing home residents. The law that resulted, the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988, protects spouses from impoverishment when their husband or wife enters a nursing home, ensuring the spouse can keep the family home, a share of the couple’s assets, and income to live on.⁶²

Rep. Waxman pushed for additional safeguards as part of the 2010 Affordable Care Act.⁶³ He was the House champion of new nursing home provisions that increase penalties on nursing homes that have subpar care, provide improved training for nursing home staff, give families access to new information about nursing home quality, and require disclosure of corporate ownership structures to increase accountability.

4. The Waxman-Hatch Generic Drug Act

In 1984, Rep. Waxman and Republican Senator Orrin Hatch worked together to pass the Drug Price Competition and Patent Term Restoration Act, also known as the Waxman-Hatch Act.⁶⁴ This law gave rise to the generic drug industry, which now supplies nearly 80% of the prescriptions filled in the United States.

The Waxman-Hatch Act struck a balance between ensuring access to safe, effective, and affordable drugs and providing adequate incentives for innovation. Under the law, a generic equivalent cannot be approved until at least five years after approval of the brand innovator drug. The generic drug is required to demonstrate it is chemically the same as the innovator drug, but the generic is allowed to rely on the brand's safety and effectiveness data rather than having to go through the time and expense of replicating that data. The competition generated through the Act not only resulted in lower priced drugs, but also fostered innovation by encouraging companies to bring new products to market to replace revenues from older products.

A recent study found that over the last ten years, consumers and taxpayers have saved over \$1 trillion by purchasing generic drugs instead of more expensive brand-name equivalents. Future savings from generic drugs are projected to climb even higher.⁶⁵ In 2011 alone, use of generics saved over one billion dollars every other day, totaling \$193 billion for the year.⁶⁶

5. The Orphan Drug Act

Rep. Waxman worked with actor Jack Klugman and patient advocates to write the Orphan Drug Act in 1983, which gave people afflicted with rare diseases new hope that pharmaceutical treatments and cures would be developed.⁶⁷ After passage, orphan drug approvals went from less than one per year to over twelve per year. Since the law was passed, over 400 orphan drugs and biologic products have been developed and marketed.⁶⁸

A rare or orphan disease is defined as one that affects fewer than 200,000 people in the United States. There are over 6,000 rare diseases, many of which are serious or life threatening, affecting approximately 25 million Americans. However, prior to the Orphan Drug Act, drug companies were not developing potential treatments because the small populations in need of the treatments failed to provide an adequate market.

Rep. Waxman's Orphan Drug Act gave drug companies incentives to develop new treatments. The law provided novel market and tax incentives to companies willing to develop drugs for small patient populations. Rep. Waxman has since written a series of laws that have made significant improvements to the original legislation.

A critical aspect of the original law is that it did not compromise FDA's approval standard. Weakening FDA's approval standard to let more drugs on the market could have endangered patients suffering from rare diseases because they would have been using drugs that had not been shown to be safe and effective under FDA standards.

6. The Ryan White CARE Act and Other HIV/AIDS Initiatives

Rep. Waxman has been at the forefront of the effort to stop the HIV/AIDS epidemic since he chaired the first congressional hearings on the then-unnamed disease in 1982.⁶⁹ In the 1980s, he held over 30 hearings to raise public awareness of a disease no one wanted to talk about. These efforts culminated in passage of the Ryan White CARE Act in 1990.⁷⁰

The Ryan White law provides medical care and other essential services to people living with HIV/AIDS. Under Rep. Waxman's leadership, the law has been reauthorized and expanded four times, most recently in 2009. Currently, the Ryan White program serves more than a half million low-income people.

On the global front, Rep. Waxman has been a leader in advocating for access to generic anti-retroviral (ARV) treatment at affordable costs, including most recently in the context of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade negotiation. He led congressional oversight efforts on the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) program.

A profile in *Politico* explained, "Waxman didn't just hold hearings on the AIDS crisis; he pushed through legislation for public education, biomedical research and health-care delivery."⁷¹ AIDS Project Los Angeles called Rep. Waxman an "unrelenting champion" and stated that his "leadership on the Ryan White Care Act forever changed our nation's response to AIDS."⁷² AIDS United recognized his "giant accomplishments in working toward the eventual end of the HIV epidemic" and said he was "one of our greatest Congressional champions."⁷³

7. Women's Health Initiatives

Throughout his career, Rep. Waxman has advanced women's health. One example is the Mammography Quality Standards Act of 1992, which Rep. Waxman championed to address growing concern about variations in mammography quality.⁷⁴ The law requires accreditation and annual inspections of mammography facilities. When the Mammography Quality Standards Act took effect, over one-third of facilities failed to meet the standards; now all do.⁷⁵

Rep. Waxman was also the primary House author of the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act, which mandated that women and minorities be included in clinical research trials.⁷⁶ The law also created the Office of Research on Women's Health at NIH.

Rep. Waxman has been a leader in protecting Title X of the Public Health Services Act, which provides low-income women with access to family planning and preventive health services, successfully defending it from efforts to defund the program.⁷⁷

8. The National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act

Rep. Waxman wrote the National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act of 1986 to provide no-fault compensation to children injured by vaccines.⁷⁸ The law was enacted to address two serious problems: growing threats of litigation over vaccine injuries that threatened the supply of life-saving vaccines and a tort system that was not providing reliable compensation to those few children injured by vaccines.

The law responded to the potential public health crisis by creating an alternative system for injury compensation. Under the law, claims for vaccine-related injuries must be filed first before a special panel within the U.S. Court of Federal Claims that provides no-fault compensation funded by an excise tax on manufacturers. If a claimant is not satisfied with the level of compensation from the vaccine panel, the claimant retains the right to seek judicial relief, but manufacturers are shielded from liability for damages arising from unavoidable side effects. The law was a tremendous success. Vaccine manufacturing continued, while over \$1 billion in compensation has been provided to several thousand individuals injured by vaccines.⁷⁹

The law also strengthened federal oversight of vaccine manufacturers, including establishing a vaccine adverse event reporting system.

9. Drug and Device User Fee Laws

Rep. Waxman helped write the Prescription Drug User Fee Act of 1992 (PDUFA), which authorizes FDA to collect fees from drug manufacturers to fund the Food and Drug Administration review of drug applications.⁸⁰ The law has become a vital source of funding for FDA, raising nearly \$800 million in FY 2013.⁸¹

The success of PDUFA led to the passage of similar laws assessing user fees on device,⁸² generic drug and biosimilar drug,⁸³ and animal drug manufacturers.⁸⁴ Rep. Waxman has played a leadership role in the passage and reauthorization of each these laws.

B. Major Consumer Protection Laws

1. The Nutrition Labeling Act

In the 1980s, there was a barrage of false and misleading health claims on foods, as well as a multitude of nutrition labels that were hard to understand or compare. To remedy the situation, Rep. Waxman wrote the 1990 Nutrition Labeling and Education Act.⁸⁵

The Nutrition Labeling Act standardized nutrition information and curbed false and misleading health claims. The law required the use of the now familiar nutrition labels on packaged foods that allow consumers to compare foods and find those that fit their nutritional preferences. These labels enable consumers to tell at a glance whether a food is high or low in particular nutrients, such as saturated fat or fiber. Today, nearly all packaged foods provide nutrient content information.

The law also set standards for permissible health claims. Prior to passage, some foods with only minimal fiber were labeled as “High Fiber”; some foods high in saturated fat were labeled as “Low Cholesterol,” even though eating foods high in saturated fat increases cholesterol levels; and some foods were labeled as “lite” or “light” because they were lighter in color or were cut into smaller slices, even though they were not “lighter” in calories, fat, or cholesterol. The Nutrition Labeling Act provided FDA authority to take action against such false or misleading labeling.

2. The Food Quality Protection Act

Rep. Waxman wrote the 1996 Food Quality Protection Act, a comprehensive overhaul of the nation's pesticide laws that established a strong health-based standard for pesticide residues in food.⁸⁶ In this effort, he worked with Republican Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman Tom Bliley to break years of legislative stalemate.

Some of the law's major requirements include stricter safety standards, especially for infants and children and a complete reassessment of all existing pesticide tolerances. The law established a single, health-based standard for all pesticides in all foods, eliminating longstanding problems posed by inconsistent standards for pesticides in raw and processed foods. And it expedites approval of safer pesticides, created incentives for the development and maintenance of effective crop protection tools for American farmers, and required periodic re-evaluation of pesticide registrations and tolerances to ensure that the scientific data supporting pesticide registrations will remain up to date in the future.

3. The Food Safety Modernization Act

Under Rep. Waxman's leadership, the FDA Food Safety Modernization Act, which President Obama signed into law in January 2011, became the most sweeping reform of our food safety laws in more than 70 years.⁸⁷

The Food Safety Modernization Act requires FDA to set science-based standards for the safe production and harvesting of raw agricultural commodities; it requires companies that process or package foods to establish new preventative controls; and it requires FDA to inspect high-risk food facilities, both domestically and abroad, on a more frequent basis. The law prohibits foreign suppliers from shipping foods to the United States unless they can verify that the food is produced in compliance with U.S. requirements.

The new law also gives FDA authority to order a recall of unsafe foods if a company refuses to do so voluntarily, an authority that food safety advocates had been trying for years to provide the agency.

4. Cigarette and Smokeless Tobacco Health Warning Laws

Rep. Waxman wrote the 1984 Comprehensive Smoking Education Act.⁸⁸ Before passage of this law, the warning labels on cigarette packages had remained virtually unchanged and had cautioned only that smoking was "dangerous" to health. The 1984 law strengthened the health warnings for cigarette packs by mandating stronger language – including warnings linking smoking to lung cancer, heart disease, and other diseases – and requiring that cigarette manufacturers rotate four warnings on cigarette packages and advertisements. The law also extended the warnings to cigarette advertisements.

Rep. Waxman also wrote the 1986 Comprehensive Smokeless Tobacco Health Education Act.⁸⁹ This law required the first health warnings on packages of smokeless tobacco and advertisements for smokeless tobacco.

5. The Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act

The culmination of Rep. Waxman's decades-long battle against the tobacco industry was the enactment of the Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act of 2009.⁹⁰ This legislation was one of the first bills reported by the Energy and Commerce Committee when Rep. Waxman became chair in 2009. The law banned marketing practices that appeal to children and gave the Food and Drug Administration broad authority to regulate the manufacture, distribution, and promotion of tobacco products.

Key provisions in the law set 18 as the federal minimum age to purchase tobacco products; require face-to-face sales of tobacco products so identification can be checked; ban the sale of cigarettes in packages fewer than 20; ban free samples and tobacco company sponsorships of sporting or entertainment events; and require bigger and more prominent warning labels.

The law also gives FDA broad authority over the manufacture of tobacco products, including the authority to set standards that reduce the risk of tobacco products.

According to Matthew Myers, President of Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids:

Over the last four decades, no member of Congress has done more to improve the health and well-being of Americans than Henry Waxman. ... The sea change on smoking in our country wouldn't have happened without the courage and tenacity of Henry Waxman. No member of Congress has done more ... to focus public attention on the dangers of tobacco use, to expose the deception of the tobacco industry and to enact laws that reduce tobacco use and save lives.”⁹¹

6. The Safe Medical Devices Act

Rep. Waxman wrote the Safe Medical Devices Act of 1990.⁹² The law was the first major revisions of FDA's authority over medical devices since the original Medical Device Amendments of 1976. The Safe Medical Devices Act required hospitals and other health care facilities to report any deaths or serious injuries from use of medical devices. It also required device manufacturers to establish systems for surveillance of implanted devices and tracking patients with the devices.

7. The Drug Quality and Security Act

In 2012, contaminated compounded drugs from the New England Compounding Center caused a meningitis outbreak that killed more than 50 people and caused hundreds of illnesses. In response, Rep. Waxman worked with Republicans on the Energy and Commerce Committee and Senate leaders to enact the Drug Quality and Security Act of 2013.⁹³ This legislation clarifies FDA's authority to regulate pharmacies that engage in drug compounding and creates a new class of entities called “outsourcing facilities” that can compound in large quantities in exchange for greater FDA regulation.

The law also establishes a federal system for electronic tracking of prescription drugs to curb pharmaceutical theft, counterfeiting, and diversion.

C. Major Environmental Laws

Rep. Waxman has been a champion of environmental causes throughout his career. Upon his retirement, Frances Beinecke, president of the Natural Resources Defense Council, wrote, “In every battle, at every juncture, in every moment that mattered most, Rep. Waxman stood up for the air we breathe, the water we drink, the lands we love and the wildlife we cherish. He embodies public service of the highest order, and we are all the better for his work.”⁹⁴

The president of the League of Conservation Voters, Gene Karpinski, stated:

For forty years, there has been no greater champion for protecting the environment and public health than Henry Waxman. From the life-saving Clean Air Act amendments of 1990 to his leadership in passing the first comprehensive climate change legislation through the U.S. House to his ongoing efforts to take on climate change deniers, he has been an unparalleled leader in fighting the climate crisis. He has also led the charge on countless important issues over the last four decades, and we will miss him immensely.⁹⁵

1. The Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990

Rep. Waxman was one of the primary authors of the 1990 amendments to the Clean Air Act.⁹⁶ This landmark legislation established programs to address the problems of urban smog, hazardous air pollution, acid rain, and the depletion of the stratospheric ozone layer. Many of the provisions of the 1990 Amendments resulted from agreements reached between Rep. Waxman and Rep. John Dingell (D-MI), who was the Chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee.

The Clean Air Act has been called “the nation’s most effective environmental law.”⁹⁷ Under the law, key air pollutants have been reduced by two-thirds while the economy has more than tripled in size.⁹⁸ In 2010 alone, the Clean Air Act prevented over 160,000 premature deaths.⁹⁹ The health and economic benefits of Clean Air Act programs have consistently outweighed the costs of pollution reduction by substantial margins. The benefits of the acid rain program exceed the costs by 40 to 1.¹⁰⁰ The programs to clean up vehicles and fuels will produce \$16 in benefits for every \$1 in costs.¹⁰¹ By 2020, the economic benefit of reducing air pollution is estimated at almost \$2 trillion dollars, exceeding the costs by 30 to 1.¹⁰²

Throughout his career, Rep. Waxman has defended the Clean Air Act when it has been under attack, starting with his successful efforts to defeat President Reagan’s proposal to roll back the law. Over the last two Congresses, Rep. Waxman led the opposition to the efforts of Republicans in Congress to undermine the law and block Environmental Protection Agency action to reduce air pollution. In total, the Republican-controlled House voted over 150 times to weaken the Clean Air Act. With one exception involving activities in Alaska, none of these bills became law.¹⁰³

2. Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1980, 1986, and 1996

Rep. Waxman has been a leader on safe drinking water issues. He steered the 1980, 1986, and 1996 amendments to the Safe Drinking Water Act through Congress, which established funding mechanisms for drinking water infrastructure improvements, guaranteed the public's right-to-know about drinking water contamination, and created a federal role in protecting drinking water sources from underground injection.¹⁰⁴

As a result of Rep. Waxman's efforts, the Safe Drinking Water Act protects public health, contains safeguards for sources of drinking water, provides more information to consumers, and funds important drinking water infrastructure improvements. These improvements to the law are making a difference: approximately 95% of the U.S. population received their drinking water from systems meeting all health-based drinking water standards in 2012.¹⁰⁵

3. Laws Reducing Childhood Lead Exposure

Over his career, Rep. Waxman repeatedly acted to reduce childhood lead poisoning, which the Centers for Disease Control regarded as the most common and societally devastating environmental disease of young children. Lead is a potent neurotoxin and exposure to lead from lead-based paint, drinking water, and other sources was impairing learning ability and retarding development in millions of American children. In the late 1970s, the majority of children aged one to five years had blood lead levels high enough to impair intellectual and neurological development.¹⁰⁶

Under Rep. Waxman's leadership, the Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1986 took several steps to reduce lead levels in drinking water.¹⁰⁷ The law banned the use of lead-bearing pipes and lead solder in drinking water systems. It required EPA to set a new drinking water standard for lead. And it required notification to persons who may be affected by lead contamination in their drinking water.

Rep. Waxman also championed the Lead Contamination and Control Act of 1988, which tackled a previously unknown source of lead exposure: drinking water fountains.¹⁰⁸ The legislation required the recall of drinking water coolers with lead-lined tanks; established a program to remove other drinking water coolers containing lead from schools; and required new drinking water coolers to be lead-free.

In 1992, Rep. Waxman wrote the Residential Lead-Based Paint Hazard Reduction Act, which addressed the leading source of childhood lead poisoning: lead paint in residences.¹⁰⁹ The law requires the disclosure of lead hazards during real estate transactions. It also requires that renovations in residences containing lead-based paint be performed by contractors certified in safe renovation practices.

In 2008, Rep. Waxman introduced legislation to ban lead in children's toys, like toy jewelry.¹¹⁰ This bill was incorporated in the Consumer Product Safety Improvement Act of 2008.¹¹¹

In 2010, Rep. Waxman was a House champion of the Reduction of Lead in Drinking Water Act, which required further reductions in the lead content of faucets and plumbing fixtures.¹¹² Prior to passage of the law, faucets and fixtures with less than 8% lead could be considered "lead-free." Under the new law, these faucets and fixtures must have less than 0.25% lead.

These laws, combined with other efforts such as the removal of lead from gasoline, have dramatically reduced the incidence of childhood lead poisoning. The median concentration of lead in the blood of children between the ages of one and five years dropped 92% from the late 1970s to 2010.¹¹³

4. Formaldehyde Standards for Composite Wood Products Act of 2010

Hearings held by Rep. Waxman in 2007 and 2008 revealed the high levels of formaldehyde in the trailers used to provide temporary housing to victims of Hurricane Katrina.¹¹⁴ Rep. Waxman worked to pass the Formaldehyde Standards for Composite Wood Products Act in 2010 to address this problem by requiring EPA to set standards for emissions of formaldehyde from plywood, fiberboard, and particleboard.¹¹⁵ The federal standards required by the law must be equivalent to the stringent standards in California.

5. Laws Reducing Greenhouse Gas Emissions

Rep. Waxman has led the fight against climate change for decades, from introducing the first bill to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in 1992 to organizing the Safe Climate Caucus in the House and the Bicameral Task Force on Climate Change in the House and the Senate to draw attention to this growing threat.¹¹⁶

In 2007, Rep. Waxman introduced the Carbon-Neutral Government Act, which required the federal government to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions.¹¹⁷ Major portions of this legislation were enacted as part of the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007.¹¹⁸ Provisions were included to require federal agencies to acquire only low greenhouse gas emitting vehicles; to build and lease energy efficient buildings; and to procure Energy Star certified products. The legislation also prohibits agencies from entering into contracts for alternative fuels with higher life-cycle greenhouse gas emissions than conventional fuels.

In 2009, Rep. Waxman became the chair of the Energy and Commerce Committee. He worked with then-Rep. Ed Markey, the chair of the Energy Subcommittee, to pass comprehensive energy and climate legislation, the American Clean Energy and Security Act (often called the Waxman-Markey bill), through the House.¹¹⁹ This legislation would have created a market-based cap-and-trade system to reduce U.S. emissions of greenhouse gases by over 80% by 2050. Other provisions would have set a national renewable energy standard; invested in energy efficiency and renewable energy (\$90 billion by 2025), carbon capture and

sequestration (\$60 billion), electric and other advanced technology vehicles (\$20 billion), and research and development (\$20 billion); and established new efficiency standards for buildings and appliances. The bill was deficit-neutral and had support from both major environmental organizations and electric utilities, oil companies, chemical companies, major manufacturers, and agriculture interests. It did not pass the Senate.

D. Major Telecommunications Laws

1. Spectrum Reform

Rep. Waxman and his California colleague, Rep. Anna Eshoo, were the lead Democratic authors in the House of landmark bipartisan legislation to ease the nation's growing spectrum shortage, provide spectrum for new "Super WiFi" bands, create a nationwide broadband network for first responders, and reduce the deficit by \$15 billion. After months of bipartisan, bicameral negotiations, this measure was included in the Middle Class Tax Relief and Job Creation Act that was signed into law by President Obama on February 22, 2012.¹²⁰

The new law gives the Federal Communications Commission the authority to pay TV broadcasters for underutilized broadcast spectrum and resell it at higher prices to wireless companies to meet growing demand for smartphones and tablets. This provision is expected to make a large band of prime spectrum available for auction and raise over \$25 billion in new revenues for the government while improving wireless broadband services for consumers. The auction of underutilized federal spectrum authorized by the legislation has already raised over \$40 billion, making it the largest spectrum auction in history.¹²¹

The law directs that \$7 billion be dedicated to a new "First Responder Network Authority" to build a nationwide broadband network for police, firefighters, emergency medical service professionals, and other public safety officials. This dedicated first responder broadband network – which will be known as FirstNet – addresses one of the key recommendations of the 9-11 Commission by ensuring that public safety officials can communicate seamlessly throughout the nation.

Other provisions in the law authorize the FCC to set aside portions of the returned broadcast spectrum for innovative unlicensed uses like Super WiFi. These provisions ensure unlicensed spectrum will continue to be an engine of economic innovation and growth.

2. The 21st Century Communications and Video Accessibility Act

Under Rep. Waxman's leadership, Congress enacted the Twenty-First Century Communications and Video Accessibility Act of 2010, a bill heralded as one of the most important advances for disabled Americans since the Americans with Disabilities Act was passed over twenty years ago.¹²²

The new law ensures that the 54 million Americans with disabilities will be able to access the wide array of 21st century communications services and technologies that are essential for participation in today's economy and society. The new law requires that smartphones and other

devices that connect to the Internet must be usable by blind and visually impaired individuals, as well as individuals with hearing aids. The law also provides for better access to video programming, making it easier for people with disabilities to view content online. Additionally, the law requires that emergency information, including 911 services and emergency alerts on television, be accessible to people with disabilities.

Upon learning of Rep. Waxman's retirement, Federal Communications Commission Chairman Tom Wheeler stated:

[Rep. Waxman] has left an indelible mark on our nation's telecommunications systems ... expanding access to telecommunications services for all American, protecting consumers, meeting the emerging technology needs of public safety first responders, and working tirelessly on behalf of policies – including those ensuring a free and open Internet – that promote jobs, economic growth and consumer benefits through increased competition and robust technology innovation.¹²³

E. Major Good Government Laws

From 1997 through 2008, Rep. Waxman served as the Ranking Democrat and then Chairman of the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. From this position, Rep. Waxman worked to pass laws that improve the operations of government, particularly in the area of procurement policy and postal services.

1. Procurement Reforms

A top priority of Rep. Waxman on the Oversight and Government Reform Committee was reducing waste, fraud, and abuse in federal programs. He led numerous investigations into wasteful procurement spending in Iraq, in response to the September 11 attack, and in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. The abuses these investigations uncovered led to a series of reforms of federal procurement laws.

In 2008, Rep. Waxman successfully advocated for the inclusion of reforms in the Defense Authorization Act of 2008 that required the disclosure of no-bid contracts; curbed the use by the Defense Department of anti-competitive "monopoly" contracts, which give one company the exclusive right to provide future goods and services; and gave whistleblower protections to employees of defense contractors.¹²⁴

In 2009, Rep. Waxman successfully advocated for the inclusion of the Waxman Clean Contracting Amendment in the Defense Authorization Act of 2009.¹²⁵ The reforms in Rep. Waxman's amendment limit the length of emergency no-bid contracts to no more than one year; extend the restrictions on anti-competitive monopoly contracts to all federal agencies; establish limitations on abuse-prone "cost-plus" contracts; prevent wasteful "layer-cake" contracts in which taxpayer costs are driven up through excessive layers of subcontracting; and establish a database of debarred contractors.

A hearing held by Rep. Waxman in 2008 revealed that insurers overcharged the Defense Department \$600 million between 2002 and 2007 to provide workers' compensation coverage for federal contractors operating overseas. At Rep. Waxman's urging, the 2009 Defense Authorization Act required the Defense Department to determine how to eliminate this wasteful spending.¹²⁶

Another hearing held by Rep. Waxman in 2008 revealed that over 40% of the federal funding for crop insurance for U.S. farmers never reaches the farmers themselves. At Rep. Waxman's urging, the 2008 farm bill contained crop insurance reforms that will save taxpayers \$3.4 billion in crop insurance costs over ten years.¹²⁷

2. The Postal Accountability and Enhancement Act

Rep. Waxman worked with Rep. Tom Davis (R-VA) and Senators Susan Collins (R-ME) and Tom Carper (D-DE) to pass the Postal Accountability and Enhancement Act of 2006.¹²⁸ The law was the first major reform of the Postal Service since the 1970 law that established the U.S. Postal Service as a self-supporting, independent agency of the executive branch.

The law contained many reforms. It gave the Postal Service new flexibility in setting postal rates, allowing the Postal Service to respond to changing market conditions. For "market-dominant" products like first-class mail, the law allows the Postal Service to change prices freely so long as the changes do not exceed an inflation-based rate cap; for "competitive products" like package delivery, the Postal Service can change rates at will so long as the rates are not subsidized by profits from market-dominant products. The law also relieved the Postal Service of a requirement to make pension payments into an escrow fund and a requirement to pay the military pensions of its employees, a combined ten-year savings of \$61 billion. To ensure budget neutrality, the Postal Service was directed to use most of these savings for ten years to pre-fund retiree health benefits.

The law was described as giving the Postal Service a future in an era of increasing electronic communications. After enactment, the Postmaster General said the law would put the Postal Service on "firm financial footing for the future";¹²⁹ the National Association of Letter Carriers called it "the culmination of years of hard work";¹³⁰ the National Association of Postmasters said it received "well-deserved accolades" and "offered this nation the best opportunity for continued postal viability";¹³¹ and the Printing Industry Association stated it would bring "modern, post-Internet era management efficiencies to the U.S. Postal Service."¹³²

III. REP. WAXMAN'S OVERSIGHT ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Done skillfully, congressional oversight can have as much impact as enactment of legislation, and Rep. Waxman is perhaps the most experienced practitioner of oversight in Congress today. As Senior Government Specialist Walter Oleszek of the Congressional Research Service said, "Mr. Waxman has certainly earned the title of Mr. Oversight."¹³³ Commenting on Rep. Waxman's performance as Chairman of the Oversight and Government Reform Committee, Thomas Mann, a congressional expert at the Brookings Institution, said, "Waxman has been a spectacular success. ... On all important counts – the range, volume and

quality of his oversight initiatives – he almost single-handedly revived the critical role of Congress in overseeing the executive.”¹³⁴

The press has used catchy sobriquets to describe Rep. Waxman’s oversight talents. He has been called “the Democrats’ Eliot Ness” (the *Nation*),¹³⁵ “the Scariest Guy in Town” (*Time*),¹³⁶ “the most feared Democrat on Capitol Hill” (*Rolling Stone*),¹³⁷ and “the Bush Administration’s worst nightmare” (the *Washington Post*).¹³⁸ A *Washington Post* profile of Rep. Waxman in 2002 was titled “Congressional Man of Letters” in reference to his “flood of missives to the White House and Cabinet – to Vice President Cheney, to Karl Rove, Andrew Card, Lawrence Lindsey and Paul O’Neill, among others.”¹³⁹ *Scientific American* labeled him “Science’s Political Bulldog” for his efforts to expose the politicization of science during the George W. Bush Administration.¹⁴⁰

When *Time* listed the “top 10 corporate grillings” in the history of Congress, four of them were hearings chaired by Rep. Waxman: the 1994 hearing at which the CEOs of the nation’s biggest tobacco companies denied the addictiveness of nicotine; the 2007 hearing at which Erik Prince, the CEO of Blackwater, was questioned about his company’s excessive use of force in Iraq; the 2008 hearing at which Richard Fuld, the CEO of Lehman Brothers, was held to account for his role in the collapse on Wall Street; and the 2010 hearing at which Tony Hayward, the CEO of BP, responded to questions about the Gulf oil spill.¹⁴¹ As *Time* reported, “when it comes to putting powerful people on the hot seat, there’s no one tougher and more tenacious than veteran California Congressman Henry Waxman.”¹⁴²

Rep. Waxman learned the value of oversight when he served as the Chair of the Subcommittee on Health and the Environment from 1979 through 1994. After a Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India, leaked lethal methyl isocyanate in 1984, killing thousands, Rep. Waxman sent his staff to Kanawha Valley, West Virginia, to investigate the company’s U.S. facility. The field hearing he held drew enormous coverage and led to the enactment of toxics right to know provisions of the Superfund law. His 1994 investigation into the tobacco industry held tobacco CEOs to account, disclosed troves of previously secret industry documents, and galvanized the national anti-smoking movement.

In 1997, Rep. Waxman became the Ranking Democrat on the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee, the principal oversight committee in the House. He documented the abuses of Chairman Dan Burton’s investigation into the Clinton Administration, such as the Chairman’s issuance of over 1,000 unilateral subpoenas. The spotlight shown on the Burton investigation by Rep. Waxman resulted in widespread criticism of the Chairman Burton’s excesses. The *New York Times* called the investigation a “House investigation travesty” and a “parody of a reputable investigation.”¹⁴³ The *Washington Post* editorialized that the investigation had become “its own cartoon, a joke and a deserved embarrassment.”¹⁴⁴ Rep. Waxman resolved to take a different approach.

After President George W. Bush’s election in 2000, Rep. Waxman invented a new model for oversight from the minority. As *Esquire* wrote, “With little or no power to do so, Waxman has nonetheless been a one-man bulwark against some of the more egregious excesses of this

White House, launching investigations into government secrecy, prewar claims about WMDs, bad intelligence, and the administration's politicization of science.”¹⁴⁵

The *Los Angeles Times* described Rep. Waxman's approach this way:

At a time when many of his Democratic colleagues have spent the last decade in a defensive crouch, outmaneuvered by their GOP rivals, Waxman has found another way to have an impact. ... The key to Waxman's unlikely success is this: He has assumed a big chunk of the watchdog role usually filled by the entire Congress, probing deep into government programs and problems to oversee a president and GOP he believes have run amok. ...

His greatest weapon proved to be as basic as it was powerful: information, in the form of documented research dug up by his Washington staff. ... They have cranked out about 2,000 reports on an expanse of topics since Waxman became the committee's ranking Democrat eight years ago.”¹⁴⁶

In 2007, Rep. Waxman became the Chairman of the Oversight and Government Reform and launched an aggressive oversight agenda. He began his chairmanship with four days of back-to-back hearings in February on waste, fraud, and abuse in Iraq, at the Department of Homeland Security, and in pharmaceutical pricing.¹⁴⁷ The pace of high-impact investigations continued over the next two years. Notable hearings and investigations examined the abysmal conditions at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center;¹⁴⁸ probed the disclosure of the identity of covert CIA agent Valerie Plame Wilson;¹⁴⁹ investigated White House interference with climate science;¹⁵⁰ revealed procurement and political misconduct at the General Services Administration;¹⁵¹ investigated the misleading account of Corporal Pat Tillman's fratricide,¹⁵² documented billions of dollars of wasteful spending in the federal crop insurance program;¹⁵³ examined FDA's lax oversight of the diabetes drug Avandia;¹⁵⁴ revealed the destruction of White House e-mails stored on Republican National Committee servers;¹⁵⁵ disclosed that Vice President Cheney did not consider his office part of the executive branch;¹⁵⁶ revealed efforts to politicize the Office of the Surgeon General;¹⁵⁷ disclosed evidence of politicization of the Office of National Drug Control Policy;¹⁵⁸ revealed extensive formaldehyde contamination of FEMA trailers housing victims of Hurricane Katrina;¹⁵⁹ probed reports of waste, fraud, and abuse in the construction of the new U.S. embassy in Iraq;¹⁶⁰ questioned Erik Prince, the CEO of Blackwater, about security incidents in Iraq;¹⁶¹ investigated reports of widespread corruption in Iraq;¹⁶² examined the role of black carbon in causing global warming;¹⁶³ investigated uranium contamination in the Navajo Nation;¹⁶⁴ questioned Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice about the activities of Blackwater and corruption in Iraq;¹⁶⁵ revealed misconduct by the State Department Inspector General;¹⁶⁶ disclosed the pervasive conflicts of interests of CEO compensation consultants;¹⁶⁷ investigated fraudulent veterans' charities;¹⁶⁸ investigated steroid use in baseball;¹⁶⁹ disclosed the lavish compensation packages and retirement bonuses of the CEOs of Wall Street companies involved in the mortgage crisis;¹⁷⁰ detailed the contacts between lobbyist Jack Abramoff and senior White House officials;¹⁷¹ investigated the Defense Department's \$300 million contract with a company run by a 21-year-old president and 25-year-old former masseur to supply ammunition to Afghan forces;¹⁷² disclosed the high costs of drugs purchased under Medicare Part D;¹⁷³ and documented shoddy electrical work in Iraq that lead to

injuries and deaths of military personnel in Iraq.¹⁷⁴ When the stock market crashed in September 2008, the Committee held three hearings to question the CEOs accountable for the collapse of Lehman Brothers,¹⁷⁵ the bailout of AIG,¹⁷⁶ and the failure of the credit rating agencies,¹⁷⁷ and a fourth hearing to examine the responsibility of former Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan and former Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) Chairman Christopher Cox in the collapse.¹⁷⁸

Virtually all of these hearings and investigations brought important new information to light and received widespread coverage. In many cases, they prompted administrative or legislative reforms. The *Washington Post* called Rep. Waxman’s oversight activities “one of the brightest spots on the new Congress’s … record.”¹⁷⁹ *Rolling Stone* reported, “In his short tenure, Waxman has made the once-moribund body into a force on the Hill, calling nearly fifty hearings on subjects ranging from the inefficacy of airport screeners to charities that bilk veterans.”¹⁸⁰

A hallmark of a Waxman investigation is a premium on factual accuracy and avoiding unfounded accusations. *New York Times* columnist Frank Rich commented, “I’ve been impressed by how the reports coming out of Waxman’s office meticulously and stubbornly track, document and cast a spotlight on below-the-radar information.”¹⁸¹ Republican Rep. Mark Souder made a similar point, saying that Rep. Waxman “rarely overreaches.”¹⁸² Rep. Waxman’s conclusions stick to the facts, and if an investigation reveals no wrongdoing, he says so.¹⁸³ The *Los Angeles Times* reported:

The most effective weapon in Waxman’s arsenal is a staff of high-powered lawyers, investigators, and technical experts who churn out a steady stream of penetrating and fact-laden reports. … Investigative reporters in Washington agree that … his staff research is highly reliable.¹⁸⁴

Rep. Waxman’s approach to oversight has been markedly different than former Oversight Chairman Dan Burton’s or current Oversight Chairman Darrell Issa’s. Unlike both Chairman Burton and Chairman Issa, Rep. Waxman rarely issued subpoenas, and when he did so, he always had either the support of Ranking Member Tom Davis or approval of the full Committee. As *The New Republic* reported, Rep. Waxman used “admirable restraint” in exercising the powers of the chairmanship.¹⁸⁵ Some of Rep. Waxman’s most politically sensitive investigations were done on a bipartisan basis with Ranking Member Davis, such as the investigation of disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff’s contacts with White House officials and the investigation of the White House’s knowledge of the fratricide of Pat Tillman.¹⁸⁶

Rep. Waxman had only a two-year tenure as Chair of the Oversight Committee because he became Chair of the Energy and Commerce Committee in 2009. But he continued his oversight efforts at Energy and Commerce. Hearings the Energy and Commerce Committee held on insurance company abuses built support for the insurance reforms in the Affordable Care Act;¹⁸⁷ hearings the Committee held into food safety outbreaks led to passage of the Food Safety Modernization Act;¹⁸⁸ and an extensive investigation into the Gulf oil spill documented lax practices by BP that contributed to the well blow-out.¹⁸⁹

The investigations Rep. Waxman has led over his 40-year career are too numerous to summarize in this report. Some leading examples, however, are discussed in more detail in the remainder of this section.

A. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into Waste, Fraud, and Abuse

During the Bush Administration, federal spending on private contractors more than doubled to over \$400 billion per year. By 2006, over 40 cents of every dollar in federal discretionary spending was going to pay private contractors, with over half spent on contracts awarded through no-bid and limited-competition contracts. This immense surge in procurement spending led to waste, fraud, and abuse, which Rep. Waxman documented in a series of reports, hearings, and letters. His work identified nearly 200 contracts worth over \$1 trillion that were plagued by waste, fraud, abuse, or mismanagement.¹⁹⁰

Investigations by Rep. Waxman into wasteful Iraq contracts revealed that Halliburton charged U.S. taxpayers \$45 for a case of soda and \$100 for a 15-pound bag of laundry and abandoned or “torched” \$85,000 trucks when they got flat tires,¹⁹¹ inflated charges for fuel imports,¹⁹² and submitted bills for over \$1 billion in questioned or unsupported costs.¹⁹³ Other investigations documented the reckless use of force by the private security contractor Blackwater;¹⁹⁴ the failure of the Bush Administration to document what happened to over \$8 billion in cash that was flown into Iraq;¹⁹⁵ and construction problems at the new U.S. embassy.¹⁹⁶

Investigations by Rep. Waxman into wasteful Hurricane Katrina contracts documented fraud, waste, and abuse in the Bush Administration’s response to the disaster, including double billing for debris removal and payments of ten times the costs for temporary “blue roof” repairs due to excessive tiering of subcontracts.¹⁹⁷ They also revealed the Administration had spent over \$2 billion for trailers for displaced families that were contaminated with high levels of formaldehyde.¹⁹⁸

Investigations by Rep. Waxman into high drug costs under Medicare Part D showed that drugs purchased for seniors under Medicare Part D cost 30% more than the same drugs purchased under Medicaid.¹⁹⁹ Prior to 2006, low-income seniors received their drugs through Medicaid, not Medicare, and taxpayers received Medicaid drug rebates on these purchases. Rep. Waxman documented that restoring these rebates for drugs used by these “dual eligible” seniors would save taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars over the next decade.

A hearing held by Rep. Waxman into the federal crop insurance program revealed that 40% of federal spending on crop insurance – \$11 billion between 1997 and 2006 – never reached farms, resulting in huge profits for private insurers.²⁰⁰ These findings led to legislative and administrative reforms that will save taxpayers billions of dollars in future payments.²⁰¹

An investigation by Rep. Waxman revealed that unscrupulous charities took in millions of dollars in contributions that were intended to aid veterans but enriched the organizations’ founders.²⁰² Last year, the California Attorney General brought an enforcement action to recover

the funds misspent by one of the worst offenders identified by Rep. Waxman, Help Homeless Veterans, and to replace its directors.²⁰³

B. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into Misleading Iraq Intelligence

Rep. Waxman was the first member of Congress to challenge veracity of the intelligence used to justify the war in Iraq. Even before the invasion, he wrote to President Bush to question why the Bush Administration relied on evidence that Iraq sought uranium from Niger when this evidence was a forgery.²⁰⁴

Rep. Waxman released a report entitled "Iraq on the Record" that documented 237 misleading statements about the threat posed by Iraq by five senior Administration officials: President George W. Bush, Vice President Richard Cheney, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of State Colin Powell, and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice.²⁰⁵ In each case, the executive branch had information in its possession at the time the statement was made that contradicted the statement.

Rep. Waxman investigated White House disclosure of the identity of covert CIA agent Valerie Plame. The Committee's hearing documented that Ms. Plame was an undercover agent who worked on some of most sensitive and highly secret matters handled by the CIA and who faced significant risks to her personal safety. Ms. Plame testified in public for the first time at the hearing.²⁰⁶

Rep. Waxman also led the congressional investigation into why the public was misled about the cause of Corporal Pat Tillman's death by friendly fire.²⁰⁷

C. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into the Tobacco Industry

Rep. Waxman has been the leader of congressional oversight into the tobacco industry since he became Chairman of the Health and the Environment Subcommittee in 1979. As the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids recognized in 2009, "no member of Congress has done more ... to focus public attention on the dangers of tobacco use, to expose the deception of the tobacco companies and to enact laws that reduce tobacco use and save lives."²⁰⁸

Rep. Waxman chaired one of the most famous hearings in congressional history, the April 14, 1994, hearing at which the CEOs of the seven leading tobacco companies testified for the first time and denied the addictiveness of nicotine.²⁰⁹ This hearing and the revelations that followed helped galvanize the anti-tobacco movement in the United States.

Two weeks after the CEO hearing, Rep. Waxman brought two former Philip Morris researchers, Victor DeNoble and Paul Mele, before the Committee.²¹⁰ They testified about secret research they conducted for Philip Morris that demonstrated the highly addictive properties of nicotine, contradicting the testimony of the CEOs. This hearing became the subject of a recent documentary, *Addiction Incorporated*.

In 1994 and the years that followed, Rep. Waxman released thousands of pages of internal tobacco company documents that showed the industry understood the addictiveness of nicotine and manipulated cigarettes and smokeless tobacco products to keep users hooked; knew and concealed the dangers of smoking; and developed marketing campaigns that targeted children.²¹¹

Rep. Waxman's oversight into tobacco industry abuses continues to this day. In August 2012, he released new industry documents that show tobacco companies have been exploiting regulatory loopholes to market flavored cigars to children and evading federal taxes by marketing cigarette tobacco as pipe tobacco.²¹² In recent months, he called for hearings and regulations to prevent youth from becoming hooked on flavored e-cigarettes.²¹³

D. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into Steroids in Baseball

At Rep. Waxman's request, the Oversight and Government Reform Committee launched an investigation into the use of steroids in professional sports, especially baseball. These hearings were motivated by Rep. Waxman's desire to reverse the growing use of steroids by young athletes emulating professional players.

In 2005, Oversight Committee Chairman Tom Davis and Ranking Member Waxman held a series of hearings on steroid use in professional sports.²¹⁴ At the first hearing, Reps. Davis and Waxman exposed serious deficiencies in baseball's steroid policy, the Committee heard testimony from parents of young athletes who committed suicide after using steroids, and professional baseball players Mark McGwire, Rafael Palmeiro, and Sammy Sosa denied steroid use or declined to discuss their use.²¹⁵ Like the hearing with the tobacco CEOs, this hearing galvanized public opinion in this case against steroid use.

At the request of Reps. Waxman and Davis, major league baseball hired former Senator George Mitchell to investigate the extent of steroid use in baseball. Senator Mitchell found the problem of steroids in baseball was widespread and that it was influencing the actions of young athletes. He recommended additional measures to remove steroids from baseball.²¹⁶

Major league pitcher Roger Clemens challenged Senator Mitchell's report, which led to additional hearings that drew further attention to the problem of steroid use in baseball.²¹⁷

Change came rapidly in response to Rep. Waxman's oversight. Major League Baseball – which had the weakest steroid policy among all major sports in 2005 – made numerous changes to its policy, testing players more often and for more illegal steroids and imposing significantly more stringent penalties on users.²¹⁸ Other American professional sports leagues followed suit, increasing penalties and making it more difficult for cheaters to evade testing.²¹⁹ Most important, Rep. Waxman's oversight resulted in significant benefits in public health and understanding of the risks of steroid use. Between 2004 and 2012, the number of male high school seniors who reported using steroids had declined by 50%.²²⁰

E. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into the Politicization of Science

One of the hallmarks of Rep. Waxman's investigative work has been an effort to ensure that scientists and their findings are not politicized, so that policies can be based on the best available science and government scientists are able to freely and accurately report on their findings.

A 2003 report by Rep. Waxman identified over 20 areas where Bush Administration officials undermined science, ranging from condom use to wetlands policy.²²¹ A 2004 report showed that federally funded abstinence-only programs taught false and misleading information, such as claiming that condoms do not prevent sexually transmitted diseases and that abortions cause premature births and mental retardation in subsequent pregnancies.²²² A 2007 hearing disclosed efforts to politicize the Office of the Surgeon General.²²³

Rep. Waxman's oversight work identified numerous instances where Administration officials interfered with the work of climate scientists. One report documented how the White House officials censored climate scientists and edited climate change reports to inject doubt about the significance of climate change.²²⁴ Another investigation revealed that White House officials intervened over the objection of career staff to block EPA from authorizing California to regulate greenhouse gases from motor vehicles.²²⁵

In another investigation, Rep. Waxman documented EPA's plan to rely on pesticide studies that exposed human subjects to dangerous pesticides in violation of ethical standards, failed to obtain informed consent, dismissed adverse outcomes, and lacked scientific validity.²²⁶ This report prompted Congress to include legislation in EPA's spending bill to require EPA to follow the recommendations of the National Academy of Sciences and establish additional safeguards to prevent the development and use of unethical human pesticide experiments.²²⁷

F. Rep. Waxman's Investigations into the Wall Street Collapse

In response to the collapse of the financial markets at the end of the Bush Administration, Rep. Waxman held a series of hearings to examine the regulatory mistakes and financial excesses that led to the market breakdowns on Wall Street.

The investigations showed that Wall Street executives acted recklessly and enriched themselves at enormous cost to shareholders and the economy. The hearings revealed that senior executives at AIG and the credit rating agencies ignored repeated warnings from company risk managers.²²⁸ They also showed that CEOs like the former head of Lehman Brothers, Richard Fuld, paid themselves exorbitant salaries.²²⁹

In addition to hearing from the CEOs, the Committee called the regulators who were supposed to protect against Wall Street excesses to testify. In one memorable moment, former Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan told the Committee that he had discovered a "flaw" in his free-market ideology.²³⁰

The corporate abuses exposed in the Waxman hearings led to legislative reforms, including passage of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. This law was designed to restore responsibility and accountability in the financial system and create a

sound economic foundation for recovery and future growth. The legislation addressed many of the abuses investigated by Rep. Waxman. It includes provisions to “clawback” excessive corporate compensation, regulate the derivative markets abused by AIG, and set new standards for credit rating agencies.

G. Rep. Waxman’s Investigations into the Gulf Oil Spill

After the explosion of the Deepwater Horizon oil rig in 2010 that dumped almost five million barrels of oil into the Gulf of Mexico, Rep. Waxman led the congressional investigation that disclosed corporate complacency and key errors in judgment that increased the risk of a blowout.

The Waxman investigation revealed that BP ignored warnings about dangers at the well and took a series of questionable shortcuts in well design that saved time and money but increased risks;²³¹ that the well’s failsafe device, the blowout preventer, had multiple deficiencies, including a leaky hydraulic system and dead batteries;²³² and that the industry’s spill response plans were filled with meaningless boilerplate, such as how to protect walruses that do not exist in the warm waters of the Gulf of Mexico.²³³ A hearing with BP CEO Tony Hayward showed that senior management paid virtually no attention to the risks the company was taking at the well.²³⁴

The investigation led to Energy and Commerce Committee passage of the Blowout Prevention Act of 2010. Key provisions of that measure were included in the Consolidated Land, Energy, and Aquatic Resources (CLEAR) Act as passed by the House of Representatives.²³⁵ Although this bill was never enacted into law, the Department of Interior included many of its provisions in new regulations, including requirements that increase corporate accountability and strengthen safety requirements for blowout preventers.²³⁶ The Committee’s investigative findings also formed a substantial basis for the November 2012 settlement between BP and the Department of Justice that resulted in BP pleading guilty to felony manslaughter, environmental crimes, and obstruction of Congress and paying a record \$4 billion in penalties.²³⁷

V. OTHER ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Rep. Waxman has had a large impact on major legislation and congressional oversight over the last 40 years. But just as important were his countless smaller contributions that received little attention. Even in the minority, Rep. Waxman found ways to make progress and have a lasting impact.

One former staffer recalled that over a four-year period:

Congressman Waxman wrote the US Olympic Committee about the potential harm of new Taekwondo rules that encouraged children to knock out one another with blows to the head (the policy was soon reversed); queried the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) about the safety of nicotine lollipops (which were quickly removed from the market); asked GlaxoSmithKline about its withdrawal of support for a critical

international HIV trial (Glaxo changed its mind the next day); detailed how the Bush administration had altered a report on health disparities (the original version was later released); and wrote to food manufacturers about their erroneous nutritional claims for rice-based “milk” products (leading to revised packaging for leading brands).²³⁸

After the *Los Angeles Times* wrote a series about how federal agencies were failing to address pervasive contamination on the Navajo reservation, Rep. Waxman convened a hearing in 2007. As recounted in the book *Yellow Dirt*, “He had a lot on his plate,” including investigating “the conduct of the war in Iraq, White House editing of federal documents to downplay the threat of global warming, a dangerous diabetes drug, the government’s laggard response to Hurricane Katrina’s devastation of New Orleans.”²³⁹ Nonetheless, Rep. Waxman:

took one more step, an extraordinary step, given the many years that the government had turned away from its allies and charges, the Navajos. Waxman directed the agency officials to return in two months for a meeting with his staff, with lawmakers present, too, and then again six months after that. “We are going to pursue this issue until we get it right, he said.” ...

Henry Waxman stayed true to his word. His staff kept calling the agencies and tribes back to Capitol Hill, again and again and again. ... Forced into working in concert for the first time, the agencies came up with a five-year cleanup plan. ... Step by step, cleanup of the Navajo homeland has continued.²⁴⁰

These are just a few examples from a long list. Joshua Green noted in *BusinessWeek*, “Waxman’s deepest impact may not be the landmark laws he’s famous for, but the collective effect of the dozens, and possibly hundreds, of smaller victories amassed throughout his career.”²⁴¹

IV. CONCLUSION

Rep. Waxman’s career exemplified the difference a legislator can make on issues that matter. Upon Rep. Waxman’s retirement, President Obama commented:

Early in the 20th Century, Henry Waxman’s grandparents came to America, the land of opportunity, and found a place where they could build a better life for themselves and their families. Over the course of 40 years in Congress, their grandson has fought to give every American family that same chance. Thanks to Henry’s leadership, Americans breathe cleaner air, drink cleaner water, eat safer food, purchase safer products, and, finally, have access to quality, affordable healthcare. ... Henry will leave behind a legacy as an extraordinary public servant and one of the most accomplished legislators of his or any era.²⁴²

Rep. Waxman’s retirement triggered an outpouring of commentary:

Jonathan Cohn, “Farewell to Henry Waxman, a Liberal Hero,” The New Republic:
“Waxman’s legacy is whole swaths of the modern welfare and regulatory state. The list

of laws for which he deserves substantial credit is simply staggering—not only for its length, but also for its breadth.

“Waxman was behind the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments, the Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments, plus laws regulating lead, greenhouse gas emissions, and formaldehyde. That arguably makes him his generation’s most influential lawmaker on environmental issues. He was also behind a series of Medicaid expansions, the Ryan White Care Act, the Orphan Drug Act, the Waxman-Hatch Generic Drug Act, and, of course, the Affordable Care Act. That almost certainly makes him the most influential living lawmaker on health care issues. Other major accomplishments include the Food Quality Protection Act and the Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act—and, somewhere along the way, he found time to modernize the postal service.

“Waxman recognizes that lawmaking requires patience and persistence—that you have to build the case for legislation, through investigations and stagecraft, even if that takes years or even decades. And while he has never walked away from a fight, he has never walked away from a negotiation—although he grasps that some concessions matter more than others.

“Waxman’s true legacy isn’t the laws that he has passed. It’s the millions and millions of lives that he has made better.”²⁴³

Harold Meyerson, “Henry Waxman, liberalism’s legislative genius,” Washington Post: “Rep. Henry Waxman ... was the primary force behind bills that made our air cleaner, made drinking water safer, put nutritional labeling on food, provided medical coverage to people with AIDS whose insurance didn’t cover that disease, gave rise to generic drugs, increased safety standards for food and enabled millions of poor children to have annual checkups.

“Yet none of Waxman’s achievements came easy. To the contrary, Waxman is generally regarded as liberalism’s legislative genius of the past four decades because almost every one of his signature bills required him to build support over years and to devise all manner of innovative strategies to turn those bills into law.”²⁴⁴

Ronald Brownstein, “The End of the Power of One,” National Journal: “No other legislator over his four-decade career—and few in any era—affected the daily lives of more Americans than Waxman, who shepherded into law landmark bills on clean air, clean water, access to health care, tobacco regulation, nutritional labeling, food safety, HIV/AIDS, and generic drugs.

“Over his remarkable tenure, Waxman embodied the definition of a great legislator: He created coalitions that would not have existed without him. Most of his major accomplishments were passed with significant Republican support. Waxman demonstrated that a single legislator, with enough skill and tenacity, can leave an indelible mark.”²⁴⁵

David Corn, “Why Henry Waxman Was One of the Most Important Congressmen Ever,” Mother Jones: “Waxman was the ideal House member, skilled in politics and passionate about policy, able to legislate and investigate, and driven by principles rather than ego. He is one of the more—if not the most—effective House member of the past 40 years. You may even be alive because of him.”²⁴⁶

Albert Hunt, “Waxman’s Retirement Is a Blow to House Democrats,” Bloomberg: “House Democrats are losing their most skilled legislative craftsman with the retirement of Representative Henry Waxman. … For Democrats, there was no one more influential on issues such as health care, the environment, telecommunications and consumer protection. Waxman is a devout liberal but also an artful legislator who know how to make deals.”²⁴⁷

Norm Ornstein, “Waxman’s Departure Marks the End of an Era,” National Journal: “Almost no one in the past 50 years has had a broader impact on American society. …

“Waxman’s incredible success as a legislator was built on finding Republican partners, or at least Republican allies, to advance his goals of alleviating poverty, cleaning up the air and water, fighting the health scourge of tobacco, reducing carbon emissions, and expanding health insurance and health care. …

“Nobody has had better, smarter, and more loyal staffers Waxman, another key to his great success. …

“But alongside his incredible policy achievements, he leaves a template for how a lawmaker can and should operate. You don’t have to be a centrist to make things happen in Congress. You do have to respect your own institution; understand how to build coalitions; rely on honest facts and figures and top-quality expertise; transcend tribal differences; and recognize that much that is worthwhile will require years of effort.”²⁴⁸

David Rogers, “Henry Waxman hands off the torch,” Politico: “Democrats will feel the losses now most, but for Congress as a whole, the greater casualty is the legislative expertise, even art, that is going out the door. Nothing illustrates this better, perhaps, than the career of Rep. Henry Waxman. …

“Ronald Reagan came into the White House wanting to cap Medicaid expenditures. But before he left eight years later, he had signed bills in which Waxman successfully expanded coverage for young children and pregnant women. Again with Republican support, Waxman pushed through the Orphan Drug Law in 1983 to increase the availability of medicines for rare diseases. Landmark AIDS and clean-air legislation followed in 1990 under President George H. W. Bush.

“Treasury Secretary Jack Lew … added, ‘He was very flexible about how to put things together, ’cause he had a goal in mind and was playing the long game. … I really can’t think of a lot of people who piece by piece have put together the kinds of complicated

and important things he has, just by sticking to it over a long period of time and chipping away at it.”²⁴⁹

Susan Estrich, “Henry Waxman, a Small Man with a Giant Impact,” Noozhawk:
“Those food labels that we now take for granted? Henry Waxman. That famous moment when the heads of the cigarette companies denied any link to cancer? Henry Waxman. Regulation of pesticides in food? Henry Waxman. Regulation of nursing homes? Henry Waxman. Tougher clean air regulation? Research money for rare diseases? Henry Waxman.”

“I have voted for Waxman every year for the past two decades. I always felt good about marking my ballot. I was voting for a guy who was the real deal. A man who cares deeply about policy. A man who lives his values, fights for what he believes in with grit and passion. No Hollywood cover guy he. Henry Waxman is not one of the tallest, but he is one of the giants. . . .

“So what do you say when a giant steps aside? Just this: Thank you.”²⁵⁰

In 2009, Rep. Waxman wrote a book with Joshua Green about his experiences in Congress. Entitled *The Waxman Report: How Congress Really Works*, the book explains Rep. Waxman’s belief in the power of government to improve people’s lives. He writes at the conclusion of the book:

In forty years as a legislator, I’ve seen just about everything. I’ve worked with people who do a terrible job, watched plenty of good legislation die, and experienced the grinding frustration of being stuck in the minority party for more than a decade. If anybody should be cynical about our government and how it works, I should. But I’m not. Because despite the setbacks and frustrations, what Congress has achieved during my time has made clear to me that if you organize the right people, follow the facts, and force the issue, it is possible, and even likely, that good work can make a difference in the lives of millions of Americans – which, in the end, is a lawmaker’s highest purpose.

As the *Los Angeles Times* wrote in reviewing Rep. Waxman’s book, “when the history of postwar America is definitively written, it’s possible the record will show that the three California politicians who had the biggest impact on the largest number of American lives were Earl Warren, as chief justice; Ronald Reagan, as president; and Henry Waxman as representative of the 30th District in the U.S. House of Representatives.”²⁵¹

-
- ¹ “The Liberal Lion in Winter,” *Los Angeles Times Magazine* (Dec. 4, 1994).
- ² Michael Barone and Chuck McCutcheon, *The Almanac of American Politics* (2014).
- ³ Harold Varmus, “Winning the arguments on Capitol Hill,” *Nature* (Oct. 8, 2009).
- ⁴ “Marathon Man,” *Washington Monthly* (May/June 2009).
- ⁵ “GOP feels bite of ‘bulldog’ Waxman,” *Washington Times* (Nov. 6, 1998).
- ⁶ “The Liberal Lion in Winter,” *Los Angeles Times Magazine* (Dec. 4, 1994).
- ⁷ “Waxman: Democrats’ Eliot Ness,” *The Nation* (Feb. 14, 2005).
- ⁸ “The Scariest Guy in Town,” *Time Magazine* (Dec. 4, 2006).
- ⁹ “Investigating Bush: Henry Waxman’s Aggressive Oversight Offers Democrats a Model,” *Rolling Stone* (Apr. 10, 2008).
- ¹⁰ “White House Feels Waxman’s Oversight Gaze,” *Washington Post* (Oct. 25, 2007).
- ¹¹ “In Control, Democrats Unleash Top Watchdog,” McClatchy Newspapers (Oct. 28, 2007).
- ¹² “Top Ten Corporate Grillings,” Time.com (July 20, 2011) (online at http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2084137_2084138_2084160,00.html).
- ¹³ “Henry Waxman Is Leaving Congress but Leaving Behind His Playbook,” *BloombergBusinessweek* (Jan. 30, 2014).
- ¹⁴ Joshua M. Sharfstein, *On Working for Henry Waxman*, The Milbank Quarterly (op-ed) Vol. 92, Issue 2 (pp. 186–190).
- ¹⁵ The White House, *Statement from the President on the Retirement of Representative Henry Waxman* (Jan. 30, 2014).
- ¹⁶ Harold Meyerson, “Henry Waxman, liberalism’s legislative genius,” *Washington Post* (Feb. 5, 2014).
- ¹⁷ David Corn, “Why Henry Waxman Was One of the Most Important Congressmen Ever,” *Mother Jones* (Jan. 30, 2014).

-
- ¹⁸ Book Review, “The Waxman Report: How Congress Really Works,” *Los Angeles Times* (July 1, 2009).
- ¹⁹ “Kingpins,” *Regardie’s Power* (September-October 1999).
- ²⁰ “The Liberal Lion in Winter,” *Los Angeles Times Magazine* (Dec. 4, 1994).
- ²¹ Michael Barone and Chuck McCutcheon, *The Almanac of American Politics* (2014).
- ²² “Power Players,” *Congressional Quarterly* (Dec. 30, 2000).
- ²³ “Tough Waxman Turns into Dealmaker,” *Politico* (May 26, 2009).
- ²⁴ “The ‘Liberal Bulldog’ Takes on His Biggest Challenge,” *National Journal* (Apr. 30, 2013).
- ²⁵ Harold Meyerson, “A Job for Waxman,” *Washington Post* (Nov. 19, 2008).
- ²⁶ Harold Varmus, “Winning arguments on Capitol Hill,” *Nature* (Oct. 8, 2009).
- ²⁷ “Waxman Is a Champion for Consumers,” Beverly Press (Nov. 1, 2012).
- ²⁸ “Mr. Clean’s Air Act,” *Sierra Magazine* (November/December 1989).
- ²⁹ Robert Kaiser, “The Waxman Report: How Congress Really Works,” *Washington Post* (July 5, 2009).
- ³⁰ “Waxman Imparts Capitol Hill Wisdom,” *Jewish Journal* (Oct. 21, 2009).
- ³¹ “Watch Out for Waxman,” *National Journal* (Mar. 11, 1989).
- ³² “The Liberal Lion in Winter,” *Los Angeles Times Magazine* (Dec. 4, 1994).
- ³³ “The Liberal Lion in Winter,” *Los Angeles Times Magazine* (Dec. 4, 1994).
- ³⁴ “Henry Waxman: In the Eye of the National Health Insurance Storm,” *Los Angeles Times* (Oct. 10, 1993).
- ³⁵ “Marathon Man,” *Washington Monthly* (May/June 2009).
- ³⁶ “Expanding Entitlements Bit by Bit: Waxman Shows How It’s Done,” *CQ Weekly* (Oct. 25, 2003).
- ³⁷ Grover Norquist, “Henry Waxman, trillion dollar man,” *Washington Times* (May 3, 1994).
- ³⁸ “GOP feels bite of ‘bulldog’ Waxman,” *Washington Times* (Nov. 6, 1998).
- ³⁹ “Watch Out for Waxman,” *National Journal* (Mar. 11, 1989).
- ⁴⁰ “Tough Waxman Turns into Dealmaker,” *Politico* (May 26, 2009).
- ⁴¹ “If They Win,” *National Journal* (Sept. 9, 2006).
- ⁴² “Henry Waxman and the Medicaid Time Bomb,” *Washington Post* (Jan. 30, 1994).
- ⁴³ Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, Pub. L. No. 111-148 (2010); Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010, Pub. L. No. 111-152.
- ⁴⁴ Urban Institute, *Taking Stock at Mid-Year: Health Insurance Coverage under the ACA as of June 2014* (July 2014) (online at <http://hrms.urban.org/briefs/taking-stock-at-mid-year.pdf>).

⁴⁵ Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, *Consumers Benefitted from 80/20 Rule in 2013* (July 2014) (online at http://www.cms.gov/CCIIO/Resources/Forms-Reports-and-Other-Resources/Downloads/Final-MLR-Report_07-22-2014.pdf).

⁴⁶ Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, Press Release, *7.9 Million People with Medicare Saved Over \$9.9 Billion on Prescription Drugs* (Mar. 21, 2014) (online at <http://www.cms.gov/Newsroom/MediaReleaseDatabase/Press-releases/2014-Press-releases-items/2014-03-21.html>).

⁴⁷ Congressional Budget Office, *Estimate of the Effects on the Deficit of the Reconciliation Proposal Combined with H.R. 3590, as Passed by the Senate* (Mar. 20, 2010) (online at <http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/ftpdocs/113xx/doc11379/amendreconprop.pdf>).

⁴⁸ E.g. Deficit Reduction Act of 1984, Pub. L. No. 98-369; Consolidated Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1986, Pub. L. No. 99-272; Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1986, Pub. L. No. 99-509; Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1987, Pub. L. No. 100-203; Family Support Act of 1988, Pub. L. No. 100-485; Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989, Pub. L. No. 101-239; Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, Pub. L. No. 101-508.

⁴⁹ Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989, Pub. L. No. 101-239.

⁵⁰ Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981, Pub. L. No. 97-35; Balanced Budget Act of 1997, Pub. L. No. 105-33.

⁵¹ Andrew Bindman, “Henry Waxman: Architect of the Health Care Safety Net,” *Journal of the American Medical Association Forum* (Feb. 13, 2014) (online at <http://newsatjama.jama.com/2014/02/13/jama-forum-henry-waxman-architect-of-the-health-care-safety-net/>).

⁵² *Id.*

⁵³ Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, Pub. L. No. 101-508.

⁵⁴ Veterans Health Care Act of 1992, Pub. L. No. 102-585.

⁵⁵ Balanced Budget Act of 1997, Pub. L. No. 105-33.

⁵⁶ Kaiser Family Foundation, *State Health Facts: Medicaid and CHIP* (Jan. 2014) (<http://kff.org/state-category/medicaid-chip/>).

⁵⁷ Children’s Health Insurance Program Reauthorization Act of 2009 (CHIPRA), Pub. L. No. 111-3.

⁵⁸ Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, Pub. L. No. 111-148 (2010).

⁵⁹ Kaiser Family Foundation, *Status of State Action on the Medicaid Expansion Decision, 2014* (Jan. 2014) (online at <http://kff.org/health-reform/state-indicator/state-activity-around-expanding-medicaid-under-the-affordable-care-act/>).

⁶⁰ Joan Alker, Executive Director of the Georgetown Center for Children and Families, “Rep. Waxman’s Legacy Includes Significant Improvements in Children’s Health Coverage,” (Feb. 7, 2014) (online at http://ccf.georgetown.edu/all/rep-waxmans-legacy-includes-significant-improvements-in-childrens-health-coverage/?utm_source=GraphicMail&utm_medium=email&utm_term=NewsletterLink&utm_campaign=Blog+Update&utm_content).

-
- ⁶¹ Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987, Pub. L. No. 100-203.
- ⁶² Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988, Pub. L. No. 100-360.
- ⁶³ Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, Pub. L. No. 111-148 (2010).
- ⁶⁴ The Drug Price Competition and Patent Term Restoration Act, Pub. L. No. 98-417 (1984).
- ⁶⁵ IMS Health, *Generic Drug Savings in the U.S.* (Aug. 2012) (online at <http://www.ahipcoverage.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/2012-GPHA-IMS-GENERIC-SAVINGS-STUDY.pdf>).
- ⁶⁶ *Id.*
- ⁶⁷ Orphan Drug Act, Pub. L. No. 97-414 (1983).
- ⁶⁸ Food and Drug Administration, Developing Products for Rare Diseases and Conditions (2014) (online at <http://www.fda.gov/forindustry/DevelopingProductsforRareDiseasesConditions/default.htm>).
- ⁶⁹ Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, Hearing on Kaposi's Sarcoma and Related Opportunistic Infections (Apr. 14, 1982).
- ⁷⁰ Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act, Pub. L. No. 101-381 (1990).
- ⁷¹ Timothy Westmoreland, *Henry Waxman, the Unsung Hero in the Fight Against AIDS*, Politico (Feb. 4, 2014) (online at http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/02/henry-waxman-aids-fight-103123.html#.VHZQ54vF8_8).
- ⁷² AIDS Project Los Angeles, *AIDS Project Los Angeles Celebrates Representative Waxman* (Jan. 30, 2014).
- ⁷³ AIDS United, *Representative Waxman Announces Retirement* (Jan. 30, 2014).
- ⁷⁴ Mammography Quality Standards Act of 1992, Pub. L. No. 102-539.
- ⁷⁵ Government Accountability Office, Mammography Services: Impact of Federal Legislation on Quality, Access, and Health Outcomes (Oct. 1997) (online at <http://www.fda.gov/downloads/Radiation-EmittingProducts/MammographyQualityStandardsActandProgram/Reports/ucm124388.pdf>).
- ⁷⁶ National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act, Pub. L. No. 103-43 (1994).
- ⁷⁷ Letter to the Editor from Alfred F. Moran, Executive Vice President for Planned Parenthood of New York City, New York Times (Aug. 13, 1981).

⁷⁸ Health Care Quality Improvement Act of 1986, Pub. L. No. 99-660.

⁷⁹ Amici Curiae Brief of the American Academy of Pediatrics, *Bruesewitz v. Wyeth*, U.S. Supreme Court (No. 09-152) (2009) (online at <http://www.ama-assn.org/resources/doc/legal-issues/bruesewitz-v-wyeth.pdf>).

⁸⁰ Prescription Drug User Fee Act of 1992, Pub. L. No. 102-571.

⁸¹ Congressional Research Service, *Prescription Drug User Fee Act (PDUFA): 2012 Reauthorization of PDUFA* (7-5700) (Feb. 22, 2013).

⁸² Medical Device and User Fee Modernization Act of 2002, Pub. L. No. 107-250.

⁸³ Food and Drug Administration Safety and Innovation Act of 2012, Pub. L. No. 112-144 (2012).

⁸⁴ Animal Drug User Fee Act of 2003, Pub. L. No. 108-130.

⁸⁵ Nutrition Labeling and Education Act, Pub. L. No. 101-535 (1990).

⁸⁶ Food Quality Protection of 1996, Pub. L. No. 104-170.

⁸⁷ Food Safety Modernization Act, Pub. L. No. 111-353 (2011).

⁸⁸ Comprehensive Smoking Education Act, Pub. L. No. 98-474 (1984).

⁸⁹ Comprehensive Smokeless Tobacco Health Education Act of 1986, Pub. L. No. 99-252.

⁹⁰ Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act, Pub. L. No. 111-31 (2009).

⁹¹ Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, *Henry Waxman Showed America the True Fact of the Tobacco Industry* (Jan. 30, 2014).

⁹² Safe Medical Device Amendments of 1990, Pub. L. No. 101-629.

⁹³ Drug Quality and Security Act, Pub. L. No. 113-54 (2013).

⁹⁴ Natural Resources Defense Council, *Rep. Waxman A Stalwart Champion for Environment, Public Health* (Jan. 30, 2014).

⁹⁵ League of Conservation Voters, *LCV Statement on the Retirement of Congressman Henry Waxman* (Feb. 3, 2014).

⁹⁶ Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, Pub. L. No. 101-549.

⁹⁷ David Doniger, Natural Resources Defense Council, Interview with NBC News (Apr. 17, 2009) (online at <http://www.nbcnews.com/id/30264214/#.UufeDhAo7t0>).

⁹⁸ U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Air Quality Trends (online at www.epa.gov/airtrends/images/comparison70.jpg) (updated Jan. 6, 2011).

⁹⁹ U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Air and Radiation, *The Benefits and Costs of the Clean Air Act: 1990 to 2020, Revised Draft Report* 5-22 (Aug. 2010) (online at: www.epa.gov/oar/sect812/aug10/fullreport.pdf).

¹⁰⁰ Lauraine G. Chestnut, David M. Mills, A Fresh Look at the Benefits and Costs of the US Acid Rain Program, 77 Journal of Environmental Management 252, 265 (2005).

¹⁰¹ U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, *The Clean Air Act – Highlights of the 1990 Amendments* (Sept. 14, 2010) (online at http://epa.gov/oar/caa/caaa_overview.html).

¹⁰² U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Air and Radiation, The Benefits and Costs of the Clean Air Act from 1990 to 2020, 5-24 (Apr. 2011) (online at: http://www.epa.gov/cleanairactbenefits/feb11/fullreport_rev_a.pdf).

¹⁰³ See Committee on Energy and Commerce, Minority Staff Report, *The Anti-Environment Record of the U.S. House of Representatives, 112th Congress: Final Summary of the 2011-2012 Congressional Session* (2013); Committee on Energy and Commerce, Democratic Staff, “The Anti-Environment Record of 113th House of Representatives.”

¹⁰⁴ Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1980, Pub. L. 96-502; Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1986, Pub. L. No. 99-339; Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1996, Pub. L. No. 104-182.

¹⁰⁵ U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Water, *National Water Program Best Practices and End of Year Performance Report—Fiscal Year 2012* (Apr. 2013) (online at http://water.epa.gov/resource_performance/performance/upload/OW_End_of_Year_ReportExecSummary_for508.pdf).

¹⁰⁶ Centers for Disease Control, *Blood Lead Levels in Children Aged 1–5 Years — United States, 1999–2010* (Apr. 2013) (online at [http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm6213a3.htm?"\).s_cid=mm6213a3_e](http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm6213a3.htm?)).

¹⁰⁷ Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1986, Pub. L. No. 99-339.

¹⁰⁸ Lead Contamination Control Act of 1988, Pub. L. No. 100-572.

¹⁰⁹ Housing and Community Development Act of 1992, Pub. L. No. 102-550.

¹¹⁰ H. R. 3743, 110th Cong. (2008).

¹¹¹ Consumer Product Safety Improvement Act of 2008, Pub. L. No. 110-314.

¹¹² Reduction of Lead in Drinking Water Act, Pub. L. No. 111-380 (2010).

¹¹³ U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, *America’s Children and the Environment, Third Edition* (Jan. 2013) (online at http://www.epa.gov/opeedweb/children/pdfs/ACE3_2013.pdf).

¹¹⁴ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on FEMA’s Toxic Trailers*, 110th Cong. (July 19, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Manufacturers of FEMA Trailers and Elevated Formaldehyde Levels*, 110th Cong. (July 9, 2008).

¹¹⁵ The Formaldehyde Standards for Composite Wood Products Act, Pub. L. 111-199 (2010).

¹¹⁶ See H.R. 4750, “The Global Climate Protection Act,” 102d Congress (1992); U.S. House of Representatives, Safe Climate Caucus; U.S. Congress, Bicameral Task Force on Climate Change.

¹¹⁷ H.R.2635, the Carbon-Neutral Government Act of 2007, 110th Cong.

¹¹⁸ Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007, Pub. L. No. 110-140.

¹¹⁹ H.R. 2454, the American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009, 111th Cong.

¹²⁰ Middle Class Tax Relief and Job Creation Act of 2012, Pub. L. No. 112-96.

¹²¹ “Bidding in Government Auction of Airwaves Reaches \$34 Billion,” *New York Times* (Nov. 22, 2014); “Hastened FCC Spectrum Auction nears \$41B,” *RCR Wireless News* (Dec. 4, 2014).

¹²² Twenty-First Century Communications and Video Accessibility Act of 2010, Pub. L. No. 111-260.

¹²³ Federal Communications Commission, *Remarks of Chairman Tom Wheeler at January 2014 Open Meeting* (Jan. 30, 2014) (online at www.fcc.gov/events/open-commission-meeting-january-2014).

-
- ¹²⁴ National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008, Pub. L. No. 110-181.
- ¹²⁵ Duncan Hunter National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2009, Pub. L. No. 110-417.
- ¹²⁶ Duncan Hunter National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2009, Pub. L. No. 110-417.
- ¹²⁷ Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, Pub. L. No. 110-234.
- ¹²⁸ Postal Accountability and Enhancement Act, Pub. L. No. 109-435 (2006).
- ¹²⁹ Federal News Service, “President Bush Signs New Postal Law” (Dec. 20, 2006).
- ¹³⁰ National Association of Letter Carriers, “Postal Overhaul Becomes Law” (2006) (online at http://www.nalc.org/postal/reform/paea_2006.html).
- ¹³¹ Testimony of Oscar “Dale” Goff, Jr., National President of the National Association of Postmasters of the United States, before the House Subcommittee on Federal Workforce, the Postal Service, and the District of Columbia (Apr. 17, 2007) (online at <http://www.napus.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/4.17.07.pdf>).
- ¹³² American Printer, “Postal Reform Approved” (Jan. 24, 2007) (online at http://americanprinter.com/alt/mag/news_0107/).
- ¹³³ Remarks of Walter Oleszek, Congressional Research Service, at the Center for American Progress Forum on the State of Congressional Oversight (Sept. 18, 2006).
- ¹³⁴ “In Control, Democrats Unleash Top Watchdog,” McClatchy Newspapers (Oct. 28, 2007).
- ¹³⁵ “Waxman: Democrats’ Eliot Ness,” *The Nation* (Feb. 14, 2005).
- ¹³⁶ “The Scariest Guy in Town,” *Time Magazine* (Dec. 4, 2006).
- ¹³⁷ “Investigating Bush: Henry Waxman’s Aggressive Oversight Offers Democrats a Model,” *Rolling Stone* (Apr. 17, 2008).
- ¹³⁸ “White House Feels Waxman’s Oversight Gaze,” *Washington Post* (Oct. 25, 2007).
- ¹³⁹ “Congressional Man of Letters,” *Washington Post* (Feb. 21, 2002).
- ¹⁴⁰ “Science’s Political Bulldog,” *Scientific American* (May 2004).
- ¹⁴¹ “Top Ten Corporate Grillings,” Time.com (July 20, 2011) (online at http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2084137_2084138_2084160,00.html).
- ¹⁴² “The Scariest Guy in Town,” *Time Magazine* (Dec. 4, 2006).
- ¹⁴³ “A House Investigation Travesty,” *New York Times* (Apr. 12, 1997).
- ¹⁴⁴ “Mr. Burton Should Step Aside,” *Washington Post* (Mar. 20, 1997).
- ¹⁴⁵ “The Nine Pillars of Congress,” *Esquire* (Nov. 2006).
- ¹⁴⁶ “For Better or Worse, He’s On It,” *Los Angeles Times* (June 19, 2006).
- ¹⁴⁷ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Impact of CPA Decision-Making on Iraq Reconstruction*, 110th Cong. (Feb. 6, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Reliance on Private Military Contractors in Iraq Reconstruction*, 110th Cong. (Feb. 7, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Management of Large Homeland Security Contracts*, 110th Cong. (Feb. 8, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Financial Impacts of Waste, Fraud, and Abuse in Pharmaceutical Pricing*, 110th Cong. (Feb. 9, 2007).
- ¹⁴⁸ Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, Hearing on Conditions at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center (Mar. 5, 2007).
- ¹⁴⁹ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Disclosure of CIA Agent Valerie Plame Wilson’s Identity and White House Procedures for Safeguarding Classified Information*, 110th Cong. (Mar. 16, 2007).

¹⁵⁰ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Political Interference with Science: Global Warming, Part I*, 110th Cong. (Mar. 19, 2007).

¹⁵¹ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Allegations of Misconduct at the General Services Administration*, 110th Cong. (Mar. 28, 2007).

¹⁵² Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Misleading Information from the Battlefield*, 110th Cong. (Apr. 24, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Tillman Fratricide: What the Leadership of the Defense Department Knew*, 110th Cong. (Aug. 1, 2007).

¹⁵³ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Waste, Fraud, and Abuse in the Federal Crop Insurance Program*, 110th Cong. (May 3, 2007).

¹⁵⁴ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on FDA's Role in Evaluating Safety of Avandia*, 110th Cong. (June 8, 2007).

¹⁵⁵ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *The Use of RNC E-mail Accounts by White House Officials*, 110th Cong. (June 18, 2007).

¹⁵⁶ Letter from Chairman Henry A. Waxman to Vice President Richard B. Cheney (June 21, 2007).

¹⁵⁷ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Surgeon General's Vital Mission: Challenges for the Future*, 110th Cong. (July 10, 2007).

¹⁵⁸ Letter from Chairman Henry A. Waxman to former White House Director of Political Affairs Sara Taylor (July 17, 2007).

¹⁵⁹ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on FEMA's Toxic Trailers*, 110th Cong. (July 19, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Manufacturers of FEMA Trailers and Elevated Formaldehyde Levels*, 110th Cong. (July 9, 2008).

¹⁶⁰ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Allegations of Waste, Fraud, and Abuse at the New U.S. Embassy in Iraq*, 110th Cong. (July 26, 2007).

¹⁶¹ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Private Security Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 2, 2007).

¹⁶² Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing Assessing the State of Iraqi Corruption*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 4, 2007).

¹⁶³ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on EPA, Black Carbon, and Global Warming*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 18, 2007).

¹⁶⁴ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Health and Environmental Impacts of Uranium Contamination in the Navajo Nation*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 23, 2007).

¹⁶⁵ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing Assessing the State Department and the Iraq War*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 25, 2007).

¹⁶⁶ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing Assessing the State Department Inspector General*, 110th Cong. (Nov. 14, 2007).

¹⁶⁷ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Executive Pay: The Role of Compensation Consultants*, 110th Cong. (Dec. 15, 2007).

¹⁶⁸ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing Assessing Veterans' Charities*, 110th Cong. (Dec. 13, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing Assessing Veterans' Charities - Part II* (Jan. 17, 2008).

¹⁶⁹ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on The Mitchell Report: The Illegal Use of Steroids in Major League Baseball*, 110th Cong. (Jan. 15, 2008); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Myths and Facts about Human Growth Hormone, B12 and Other Substances*, 110th Cong. (Feb. 12, 2008); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on The Mitchell Report: The Illegal Use of Steroids in Major League Baseball, Day 2*, 110th Cong. (Feb. 13, 2008).

¹⁷⁰ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Executive Compensation II: CEO Pay and the Mortgage Crisis*, 110th Cong. (Mar. 7, 2008).

¹⁷¹ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Committee Report, Jack Abramoff's Contacts With White House Officials*, 110th Cong. (June 11, 2008).

¹⁷² Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Examination of AEY Contracts with the U.S. Government*, 110th Cong. (June 24, 2008).

¹⁷³ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on The Medicare Drug Benefit: Are Private Insurers Getting Good Discounts for the Taxpayer?*, 110th Cong. (July 24, 2008).

¹⁷⁴ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Deficient Electrical Systems at U.S. Facilities in Iraq*, 110th Cong. (July 30, 2008).

¹⁷⁵ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Causes and Effects of the Lehman Brothers Bankruptcy*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 6, 2008).

¹⁷⁶ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Causes and Effects of the AIG Bailout*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 7, 2008).

¹⁷⁷ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Credit Rating Agencies and the Financial Crisis*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 22, 2008).

¹⁷⁸ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Financial Crisis and the Role of Federal Regulators*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 23, 2008).

¹⁷⁹ “White House Feels Waxman’s Oversight Gaze,” *Washington Post* (Oct. 25, 2007).

¹⁸⁰ “Investigating Bush,” *Rolling Stone* (Apr. 10, 2008).

¹⁸¹ “Congressman Uses Reports to Help Keep GOP Honest,” *The Forward* (Dec. 24, 2004).

¹⁸² “Focus Falls on a Reluctant Warrior,” *Washington Post* (Aug. 16, 2001).

¹⁸³ In 2006, Chairman Waxman investigated allegations that former Veterans Affairs Secretary Anthony Principi had improperly secured lucrative contracts for a private company he joined after leaving government service. After the Committee’s investigation revealed no wrongdoing, Chairman Waxman wrote a letter to VA Secretary Nicholson that said, “I am satisfied that Secretary Principi’s actions were proper and ethical.” Letter from Ranking Member Henry A. Waxman to Secretary of Veterans Affairs R. James Nicholson (June 9, 2006). A similar example occurred when Rep. Waxman was chair of the Committee on Energy and Commerce. Immediately after passage of the Affordable Care Act, several large employers filed statements with the Securities and Exchange Commission stating that the new law would result in a significant noncash charge against earnings due to changes in the deductibility of government subsidies for retiree drug coverage. Rep. Waxman opened an investigation into whether these filings were politically motivated. When the investigation exonerated the companies, Rep. Waxman released a memorandum stating that “the companies acted properly and in accordance with accounting standards.” Memorandum from Energy and Commerce Committee Majority Staff to Chairmen Henry Waxman and Bart Stupak Re: Investigation of the Impact of the Health Care Reform Law on Large Employers (Apr. 14, 2010).

¹⁸⁴ “For Better or Worse, He’s on It,” *Los Angeles Times* (July 17, 2006).

¹⁸⁵ “The Waxman Cometh,” *New Republic* (Apr. 23, 2007).

¹⁸⁶ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Committee Report, Jack Abramoff's Contacts With White House Officials* (June 11, 2008); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Committee Report, Misleading Information from the Battlefield: The Tillman and Lynch Episodes* (July 17, 2008).

¹⁸⁷ Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on Premium Increases by Anthem Blue Cross in the Individual Health Insurance Market*, 111th Cong. (Feb. 24, 2010); Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on the High Cost of Small Business Health Insurance: Limited Options, Limited Coverage*, 111th Cong. (Oct. 20, 2009); Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on Insured But Not Covered: The Problem of Underinsurance*, 111th Cong. (Oct. 15, 2009); Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on Terminations of Individual Health Policies by Insurance Companies*, 111th Cong. (June 16, 2009).

¹⁸⁸ Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on The Outbreak of Salmonella in Eggs*, 111th Cong. (Sept. 22, 2010); Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on The Role and Performance of FDA in Ensuring Food Safety*, 111th Cong. (May 6, 2010); Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on The Salmonella Outbreak: The Role of Industry in Protecting the Nation's Food Supply*, 111th Cong. (Mar. 19, 2009); Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on The Salmonella Outbreak: The Continued Failure to Protect the Food Supply*, 111th Cong. (Feb. 11, 2009).

¹⁸⁹ Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on The Role of BP in the Deepwater Horizon Explosion and Oil Spill*, 111th Cong. (June 17, 2010); Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on Inquiry into the Deepwater Horizon Gulf Coast Oil Spill*, 111th Cong. (May 12, 2010).

¹⁹⁰ Committee on Government Reform, Minority Staff Report, *Dollars Not Sense: Government Contracting Under the Bush Administration* (June 2006); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Minority Staff Report, *More Dollars Less Sense: Worsening Contracting Trends Under the Bush Administration* (June 2007).

¹⁹¹ Letter from Ranking Member Henry A. Waxman to Chairman Tom Davis (June 14, 2004).

¹⁹² Letter from Ranking Members Henry A. Waxman and John D. Dingell to Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Condoleezza Rice (Oct. 29, 2003).

¹⁹³ Committee on Government Reform, Minority Staff Report, *Halliburton's Questioned and Unsupported Costs in Iraq Exceed \$1.4 Billion* (June 27, 2005).

¹⁹⁴ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Private Security Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 2, 2007).

¹⁹⁵ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Impact of CPA Decision-Making on Iraq Reconstruction*, 110th Cong. (Feb. 6, 2007).

¹⁹⁶ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Allegations of Waste, Fraud, and Abuse at the New U.S. Embassy in Iraq*, 110th Cong (July 26, 2007); Letter from Chairman Henry A. Waxman to the Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (Oct. 9, 2007) ; Letter from Chairman Henry A. Waxman to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (Feb. 29, 2008).

¹⁹⁷ Committee on Government Reform, Minority Staff Report, *Waste, Fraud, and Abuse in Hurricane Katrina Contracts* (Aug. 2006).

¹⁹⁸ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on FEMA's Toxic Trailers*, 110th Cong. (July 19, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Manufacturers of FEMA Trailers and Elevated Formaldehyde Levels*, 110th Cong. (July 9, 2008).

¹⁹⁹ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Staff Report, *Private Medicare Drug Plans: High Expenses and Low Rebates Increase the Cost of Medicare Drug Coverage* (Oct. 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Staff Report, *Medicare Part D: Drug Pricing and Manufacturer Windfalls* (July 2008).

²⁰⁰ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Waste, Fraud, and Abuse in the Federal Crop Insurance Program*, 110th Cong. (May 3, 2007).

²⁰¹ Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, Pub. L. No. 110-234.

²⁰² Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing Assessing Veterans' Charities*, 110th Cong. (Dec. 13, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing Assessing Veterans' Charities - Part II*, 110th Cong. (Jan. 17, 2008).

²⁰³ California Department of Justice, *Attorney General Kamala D. Harris Files Lawsuit Seeking Removal of Directors and Recovery of Funds for Veterans Charity* (Aug. 9, 2012) (online at <http://oag.ca.gov/news/press-releases/attorney-general-kamala-d-harris-files-lawsuit-seeking-removal-directors-and>).

²⁰⁴ Letter from Ranking Member Henry A. Waxman to President George W. Bush (Mar. 17, 2003).

²⁰⁵ Committee on Government Reform, Minority Staff Report, *Iraq on the Record: The Bush Administration's Public Statements on Iraq* (Mar. 16, 2004).

²⁰⁶ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Disclosure of CIA Agent Valerie Plame Wilson's Identity and White House Procedures for Safeguarding Classified Information*, 110th Cong. (Mar. 16, 2007).

²⁰⁷ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Misleading Information from the Battlefield*, 110th Cong. (Apr. 24, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Tillman Fratricide: What the Leadership of the Defense Department Knew* (Aug. 1, 2007); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Committee Report, *Misleading Information from the Battlefield: The Tillman and Lynch Episodes* (July 17, 2008).

²⁰⁸ Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids, *Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids Honors Chairman Henry Waxman For Leadership in Reducing Tobacco's Devastating Toll* (May 6, 2009).

²⁰⁹ Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, *Hearing on the Regulation of Tobacco Products House*, 103rd Cong. (April 14, 1994).

²¹⁰ Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, *Hearing on Anti-Smoking Bill and Tobacco Products*, 103rd Cong. (April 28, 1994).

²¹¹ Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, *Hearing on Tobacco Products*, 103rd Cong. (June 23, 1994); Letter from Rep. Henry A. Waxman to Chairman Tom Bliley (Jan. 14, 1998); Statement of Rep. Henry A. Waxman on the House Floor (July 24, 1995) (online at <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/gqd35c00/pdf>).

²¹² Letter from Ranking Member Henry A. Waxman to Food and Drug Administration Commissioner Margaret Hamburg (Aug. 27, 2012).

²¹³ Letter from Ranking Member Henry A. Waxman to Food and Drug Administration Commissioner Margaret Hamburg (Sept. 16, 2013); Letter from Ranking Member Henry A. Waxman, Health Subcommittee Ranking Member Frank Pallone, and Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee Ranking Member Diana DeGette to Food and Administration Commissioner Margaret Hamburg (Aug. 8, 2014).

²¹⁴ Committee on Government Reform, *Hearing on Restoring Faith in America's Pastime: Evaluating Major League Baseball's Efforts to Eradicate Steroid Use*, 109th Cong. (Mar. 17, 2005); Committee on Government Reform, *Hearing on the National Football League's Policy on Steroids*, 109th Cong. (Apr. 27, 2005); Committee on Government Reform, *Hearing on Steroid Use in Sports Part III: Examining the National Basketball Association's Steroid Testing Program*, 109th Cong. (Apr. 27, 2005).

²¹⁵ Committee on Government Reform, *Hearing on Restoring Faith in America's Pastime: Evaluating Major League Baseball's Efforts to Eradicate Steroid Use*, 109th Cong. (Mar. 17, 2005).

²¹⁶ The Report to the Commissioner of Baseball of an Independent Investigation into the Illegal Use of Steroids and Other Performance Enhancing Substances by Players in Major League Baseball (Dec. 13, 2007).

²¹⁷ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on The Mitchell Report: The Illegal Use of Steroids in Major League Baseball*, 110th Cong. (Jan. 15, 2008); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Myths and Facts about Human Growth Hormone, B12 and Other Substances*, 110th Cong. (Feb. 12, 2008); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on The Mitchell Report: The Illegal Use of Steroids in Major League Baseball, Day 2*, 110th Cong. (Feb. 13, 2008).

²¹⁸ "MLB, Union Agree to Stricter Drug Policy," *MLB.com* (Nov. 16, 2005) (online at http://mlb.mlb.com/news/article.jsp?ymd=20051115&content_id=1268529&vkey=news_mlb&fext=.jsp&c_id=mlb) ; "Baseball to Expand Drug-Testing Program," *New York Times* (Jan. 10, 2013) (online at <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/11/sports/baseball/baseball-and-union-agree-to-in-season-blood-testing-for-ghg.html?emc=na&r=0>).

²¹⁹ “NFL Says Drug Testing Will be Rigorous and Frequent,” *New York Times* (Aug. 6, 2011) (online at <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/07/sports/football/nfl-says-drug-testing-will-be-rigorous-and-frequent.html>); “League Ready to Crack Down on HGH in its Drug Policy: NBA Insider,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (Feb. 23, 2013) (online at http://www.cleveland.com/cavs/index.ssf/2013/02/league_ready_to_crack_down_on.html).

²²⁰ The University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, *Monitoring the Future National Survey Results on Drug Use, 1975-2012. Volume I: Secondary School Students* (2013).

²²¹ Committee on Government Reform, Minority Staff Report, *Politics and Science in the Bush Administration* (Nov. 13, 2003).

²²² Committee on Government Reform, Minority Staff Report, *The Content of Federally Funded Abstinence Only Programs* (Dec. 2004).

²²³ House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Surgeon General's Vital Mission: Challenges for the Future*, 110th Cong. (July 10, 2007).

²²⁴ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Staff Report, *Political Interference with Climate Change Science Under the Bush Administration* (Dec. 2007).

²²⁵ Memorandum from Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Majority Staff to Members of the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform Re: EPA’s Denial of the California Waiver (May 19, 2008).

²²⁶ Committee on Government Reform, Minority Staff Report, *Human Pesticide Experiments* (June 2005).

²²⁷ Department of the Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, Pub. L. No. 109-54 (2005).

²²⁸ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Causes and Effects of the AIG Bailout*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 7, 2008); Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on Credit Rating Agencies and the Financial Crisis*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 22, 2008).

²²⁹ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Causes and Effects of the Lehman Brothers Bankruptcy*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 6, 2008).

²³⁰ Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Hearing on the Financial Crisis and the Role of Federal Regulators*, 110th Cong. (Oct. 23, 2008).

²³¹ Letter from Chairmen Henry A. Waxman and Bart Stupak to Tony Hayward, Chief Executive Officer, BP (June 14, 2010).

²³² Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on Inquiry into the Deepwater Horizon Gulf Coast Oil Spill*, 111th Cong. (May 12, 2010).

²³³ Subcommittee on Energy and Environment, *Hearing on Drilling Down on America’s Energy Future: Safety, Security, and Clean Energy*, 111th Cong. (June 15, 2010).

²³⁴ Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on The Role of BP in the Deepwater Horizon Explosion and Oil Spill*, 111th Cong. (June 17, 2010); Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Hearing on Inquiry into the Deepwater Horizon Gulf Coast Oil Spill*, 111th Cong. (May 12, 2010).

²³⁵ H.R. 3534, the Consolidated Land, Energy, and Aquatic Resources (CLEAR) Act, 111th Cong. (2010).

²³⁶ Bureau of Ocean Energy Management, Regulation, and Enforcement, *The Drilling Safety Rule* (Sept. 2011) (online at http://www.doi.gov/news/pressreleases/upload/093010_Fact-Sheet_Drilling-Safety-Rule.pdf).

²³⁷ Department of Justice, *BP Exploration and Production Inc. Agrees to Plead Guilty to Felony Manslaughter, Environmental Crimes and Obstruction of Congress Surrounding Deepwater Horizon Incident* (Nov. 15, 2012) (online at <http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2012/November/12-ag-1369.html>).

²³⁸ Joshua M. Sharfstein, *On Working for Henry Waxman*, The Milbank Quarterly (op-ed) Vol. 92, Issue 2 (pp. 186–190).

²³⁹ Judy Pasternak, *Yellow Dirt* at 235-36 (July 2011 edition).

-
- ²⁴⁰ Judy Pasternak, *Yellow Dirt* at 240, 242, 261 (July 2011 edition).
- ²⁴¹ “Henry Waxman Is Leaving Congress but Leaving Behind His Playbook,” *BloombergBusinessweek* (Jan. 30, 2014).
- ²⁴² The White House, *Statement from the President on the Retirement of Representative Henry Waxman* (Jan. 30, 2014).
- ²⁴³ Jonathan Cohn, “Farewell to Henry Waxman, a Liberal Hero,” *The New Republic* (Jan. 31, 2014).
- ²⁴⁴ Harold Meyerson, “Henry Waxman, liberalism’s legislative genius,” *The Washington Post* (Feb. 5, 2014)
- ²⁴⁵ Ronald Brownstein, “The End of the Power of One,” *National Journal* (Feb. 7, 2014).
- ²⁴⁶ David Corn, “Why Henry Waxman Was One of the Most Important Congressmen Ever,” *Mother Jones* (Jan. 30, 2014).
- ²⁴⁷ Albert Hunt, “Waxman’s Retirement Is a Blow to House Democrats,” *Bloomberg* (Jan. 30, 2014).
- ²⁴⁸ Norm Ornstein, “Waxman’s Departure Marks the End of an Era,” *National Journal* (Feb. 4, 2014).
- ²⁴⁹ David Rogers, “Henry Waxman hands off the torch,” *Politico* (Feb. 10, 2014).
- ²⁵⁰ Susan Estrich, “Henry Waxman, a Small Man with a Giant Impact,” *Noozhawk* (Feb. 2, 2014).
- ²⁵¹ Book Review, “The Waxman Report: How Congress Really Works,” *Los Angeles Times* (July 1, 2009).